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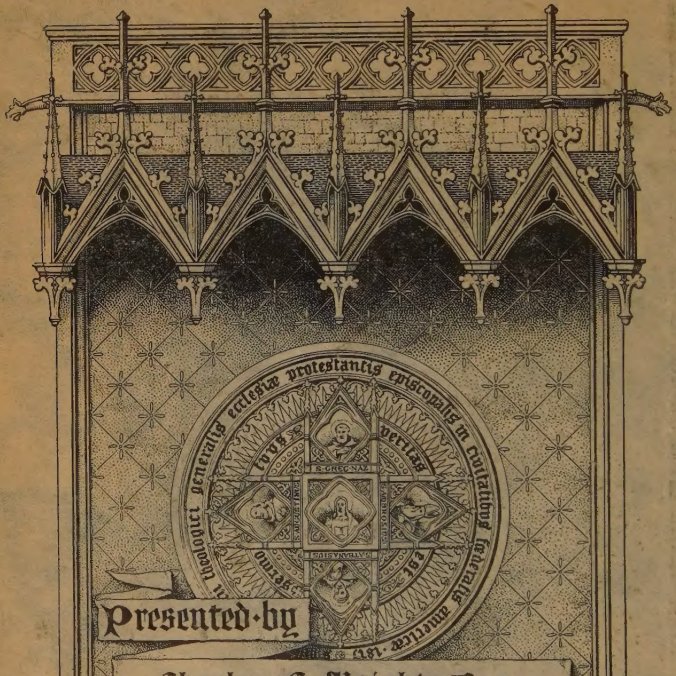
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The Lost Church Found

OR, THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND NOT A NEW CHURCH, BUT ANCIENT, APOSTOLICAL, AND INDEPENDENT, AND A PROTESTING CHURCH NINE HUNDRED YEARS BEFORE THE REFORMATION

BY THE

REV. C. T. COLLINS TRELAWNY, M.A.

LATE RECTOR OF TIMSBURY, SOMERSET
AND FORMERLY FELLOW OF BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD

"Na reys gura anvoȳ goth, nagau ver nowath"
Do not leave the old way, for the new way
OLD CORNISH PROVERB

RIVINGTONS
London, Oxford, and Cambridge
1868
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RIGHT REV. GEORGE HENRY LAW, LORD BISHOP OF

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IN TOKEN OF

THE AUTHOR'S GRATEFUL RECOLLECTION OF THE KINDNESS

AND SINCERE RESPECT FOR THE

TALENTS AND VIRTUES

OF

HIS VENERATED DIOCESAN.

Preface to the Sixth Edition

In placing a New Edition of "The Lost Church Found" before the public, the writer would have felt some apology to be due, and more especially so at the present time, when the Church of England requires far abler advocates than himself for repelling the encroachments of Rome, were it not that repeated calls have reached him, from good and earnest men, for the republication of this little book in a cheaper form. At the same time he cannot but own that he has received great encouragement to obey the call from the favourable reception the former Editions of the Work have received—leading him to believe that it has contributed in some measure at least to awaken a deeper inquiry into the History and Claims of this Branch of the Reformed Church—to kindle a warmer attachment in her sons and daughters—and to encourage them in this

hour of her peril to make a more determined stand against the machinations of her open enemies, and the treachery of pretended friends.

Should this little Volume contribute in any degree to such a result, the writer will not regret that he has yielded to the advice and wishes of others, both friends and strangers, in consenting to its republication.

Preface to the First Edition

The great master[1] of Roman eloquence informs us, that once on a time the Athenians were under great difficulty and distraction on the choice of their religion, inasmuch as the law directed that the people should worship according to *the best forms* of their country's rites; in their perplexity they consulted the Pythian Oracle, and demanded what religious rites they should specially follow. The Oracle replied, "Those which were after the *more ancient form of their forefathers.*" This answer not sufficiently satisfying their doubts, they sent a second time to the Oracle, saying, that as for the form of their forefathers it was frequently changed, that they were anxious therefore to know what form, out of the many, they ought principally to follow. The Oracle answered—"The best."

From this reply the Roman orator concluded, that *that* must *be ever reckoned the best which is the most ancient, and the nearest to God himself.*

1 Cicero de Legibus, lib. ii. c. 16.

The Oracle answered correctly, and the heathen moralist was right in his conclusion; for assuredly truth must be as much older than error as God is older than the author of evil. This is a maxim that holds good in all things, especially in religion, which, if it be true, must proceed from the God of truth, and therefore be acceptable to Him; and then by how much it is the more ancient, by so much must it be the nearer to the fountain of truth.

But the God whom the Scriptures have revealed to us placed this matter beyond doubt, when He counselled the sons of men, in the unerring oracles of divine truth, to "stand in the ways and see, and ask for the *old path*, where is *the good way*, and to walk therein, and they should find rest for their souls."[2] Where it is evident that *the old way*, and *the good way*, are convertible terms, and are one and the same with that wherein God's people may "find rest for their souls."

On this command of God the Church of England may well take her stand, and claim the love and veneration of her children on the very ground of her *antiquity*, drawing her doctrine from the Fountain of divine revelation, as expounded by the first four General Councils, and the most ancient of the Fathers, deriving her rituals from the practice of the purest churches in the oldest times, and framing her government on the model of those churches which were planted and watered by the Apostles them-

[2] Jerem. vi. 16.

selves.[3] So that nothing is wanting to complete the evidence of antiquity, or to satisfy the most scrupulous of her children, that she is verily a true branch of that pure and apostolical Church, against which the gates of hell shall never prevail.

It is true that time, and the wickedness of man, combined to rob her of her purity, and to spoil her of her privileges, and she sank for a while under the accumulated weight of gross superstition and foreign oppression. For centuries she lay buried beneath her cruel burden, during which season of her humiliation she exhibited scarcely a token of visible existence. This temporary obscurity has been made an argument against her by her opponents, but it is most unreasonable; for as, according to the maxim of philosophers, "the objects of sight remain still discernible, even when they are not discerned"—so it is with the Church; in her obscurest condition a degree of visibility is still apparent, and it is only adding mockery to pillage to ask the question, where our Church was before the Reformation? The highwayman who steals your purse, might just as well ask you where it was before he stole it from you. But the question is as absurd as it is insulting, for it assumes that the orthodox Church must be visible in all ages. Whereas the Scriptures forewarn us of great

3 Tertullian, in his treatise against Marcion the heretic, adopts the same argument. "If it be certain," he says, "that *this* is most genuine which is most ancient, *that* most ancient which is from the beginning, and *that* from the beginning which is from the Apostles: in like manner it will also be certain, *that* has been delivered from the Apostles which is held sacred in the Churches of the Apostles."

revolts, and of false teachers who shall deceive many, persuading them to refrain from marriage, and from meats which God has created to be received with thankfulness.[4] They foretell that all the world should wonder and go after the beast:[5] they speak to us of the man of sin, the son of perdition;[6] they declare to us that wings are given to the Church to flee away into the desert, and *to remain* hid for a time.[7] Accordingly, for a time the man of sin prevailed, and the Church of England remained hid under the inpenetrable covering of ignorance and error. But though clouds and darkness were round about her, the day-spring from on high was shortly to visit her, when the glorious light of the Reformation should dispel the darkness, and give liberty to the victim of an odious oppression. Then did she awake from her long slumber—then came she forth, galled and scathed indeed by the severity of her wrongs, but still possessing all the lineaments of her pure and holy origin.

It was not to be expected that so great a transformation could be the work of a moment. The captive, long habituated to the weight and torture of his chains, cannot, on the first recovery of his liberty, walk with the ease and firmness of the freeman. Thus was it with the Church of England, in the first days of her deliverance; she still felt the effects of her long captivity. She had thrown off her chains, but she continued for many years crippled by their

[4] 1 Tim. iv. 3.
[5] Rev. xiii. 3.
[6] 2 Thess. ii.
[7] Rev. xii. 14.

past infliction. This was her misfortune, and by no means the fault of her deliverers, and could with no more justice be imputed to them as a crime, than the indistinct vision of the blind man of Bethsaida could be charged as a sign of unskilfulness and imposture on the wonder-working Saviour; and as to the charge of novelty, of bringing in a new faith, of setting up a new church, it convicts our opponents of either the most deplorable ignorance, or the most culpable want of veracity; for nothing short of the blindest credulity can any longer believe the oft-repeated calumny, and nothing but the most unblushing indifference to the truth could any further persist in so distorting facts as to represent the work of the Reformation as the invention of a new system of religion. And yet such is the case—Romanists to this day reiterate the libellous calumny, and weak and ignorant men are ready, as formerly, to believe and circulate it, and without taking the slightest trouble to inquire whether these things are so or not, are easily led to surrender their religious faith, and liberty of conscience, to the fascinating delusions of a pompous ritual, and the flattering sanctions of an unscriptural, carnal, and enslaving creed. Oh! that Protestants would but examine for themselves the grounds of their belief as members of the Reformed Church! Oh! that they would but employ that reason and liberty with which God has blessed them in proving and holding fast the profession of their faith without wavering! Then would they learn to distinguish between the false doctrines of Romanism and the Church

of Rome herself—then would they understand that however ancient that Church may be, her errors are comparatively modern—that she has departed from herself in those very essentials wherein the Church of England differs from her—that she at this day no more resembles the Church of Rome of the first four centuries, than the Church of England resembles her in the nineteenth century; for it would be evident that her boasted supremacy was but a fiction—that there was no such title as "universal bishop" till the time of Boniface, 600 years after Christ—that the doctrine of transubstantiation had no existence till the Lateran Council, A.D. 1215—that the cup was not denied to the people in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper till the Council of Constance, A.D. 1414—that the doctrine of purgatory, and many other similar novelties in their religion, had no admission as articles of belief till the council of Trent, A.D. 1545, which, together with the creed of Pope Pius IV., are in fact the real sources of that religion, "whose fooleries," says Bishop Hall, "the very boys may shout and laugh at."

Now all these, and numberless other points, are questions of history, and are to be decided, not by empty assertion, not by unmeaning declamation, not by uncertain tradition, which, "like a common sewer brings down, for the most part, the trash and rubbish of former times, very often letting the most weighty things sink and perish in the passage,"[8] but by an appeal to the accredited testimony of

[8] Goodman's Six Sermons.

ancient records. These are fortunately in our hands, are beyond the reach of contradiction or suspicion, and as such are the title-deeds of our ecclesiastical inheritance. Of this our opponents are fully aware, and therefore most disingenuously endeavour to draw off attention from themselves, by retorting upon Protestantism the charge of novelty, and upon the Reformed Church of England in particular the stigma of a "religion by Act of Parliament."

The writer of the following pages, in the fullest conviction that the danger of such misrepresentation is by no means so insignificant as some suppose, ventures, with much confidence, at once to meet the objection by a direct appeal to history, believing he cannot better defend the Church against the increasing malice of her enemies, than by maintaining, in the first place, the strong ground of her higher antiquity and long-asserted independence; and then by showing, that in proportion as Popery gained a footing here, the purity of the Church of England declined, and that she further and further receded from her high and holy character, until by degrees the leaven of Romanism pervaded the whole mass, and she sank down under the overwhelming pressure of external aggression and internal decay. To the bright and palmy period of her ancient renown succeeded a long, dark, chilly night of ignorance and corruption, during which she slumbered on in blind and listless security. Signs of animation were occasionally shown, and a voice was heard at intervals, faint at first, but louder as time advanced, bidding her to

awake from her slumber and reassume her ancient rights, when at last shone forth the blessed day of her emancipation, and her intrepid deliverers set themselves resolutely to the great and difficult work of her reformation. As for building up a new Church, it never entered their thoughts: they "onely endeavoured (not without happy successe), to cleanse, scoure, restore, reforme her from that filthy soyle, both of disorder and errors, wherewith she was shamefully blemished."[9]

These things, it must be repeated, are matters of history, and are to be answered by something more solid than the mere repetition of ancient calumny.

In laying the result of his researches before the public, the author feels he is but a very humble follower in the steps of many who have gone before him; and though he does not pretend to offer much new matter, or to advance any new arguments in support of the points he has ventured to handle, he yet hopes he may be the means of encouraging in others a closer examination of the whole subject; being convinced, from his own experience, that such an examination, if pursued with a single eye to the attainment of the truth, though it may fail to bring conviction to the mind of the Roman Catholic, will lead the Protestant to a more deep, thankful, and abiding attachment to that Church, of which he may have been hitherto a member, rather from the circumstances of birth or education, than from being able to give a satisfactory

[9] Bishop Hall's "No Peace with Rome."

answer to any one who might ask him for the reason of the hope that is in him; and who thus furnished with the power, will have the boldness also to confess before all men, that "after the way which they call heresy, so worships he the God of *his fathers*, believing all things which *are written* in the law and the prophets," and not resting so serious a matter as the salvation of his soul on such a rotten foundation as the *unwritten word*, the traditions of fallible men, which depend upon no higher authority than that of some wicked Pope perhaps, who has been constituted by the Church of Rome, with singular adroitness, a judge in his own cause!

If it should thus be the happy effect of this little volume, to increase the already growing attachment of her children to that Church *whose service is reasonable*, and *worship spiritual*, then will its main intention be answered, and the author will submit to bear whatever taunts it may call forth on the part of Roman Catholics. Truth, however, and the good of all men, being the objects nearest to his heart, he begs to declare, that in dealing with the errors of the Church of Rome, he has been actuated by no unkind feelings towards the members of that Church; on the contrary, as it has been with the utmost pain that he has at any time spoken harshly of the corruptions of Romanism, so has it been with all good-will, and the sincerest desire of restoring his Roman Catholic brethren to "the fold from whence they have strayed," that he has engaged at all in this work; and so ardently does he

desire this happy consummation, that he might well envy the affectionate zeal, the superhuman love and devotion of the warm-hearted apostle, that led him to declare on behalf of his erring countrymen—"I say the truth in Christ, I lie not, my conscience also bearing me witness in the Holy Ghost, that I have great heaviness, and continual sorrow in my heart. For I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ for my brethren, *my kinsmen according to the flesh.*"[1]

With the errors of Romanism, therefore, the writer has alone endeavoured to combat, and even in combating them, he has had no desire himself, nor would he on any account persuade others, to measure the Protestant religion by any uncandid opposition to the Roman Catholic; and in the like spirit of fairness towards that Church, he disclaims for himself the supposition that he would account every thing popery that is found in her. No; he thankfully acknowledges in her whatever she has retained of primitive truth and piety, and readily admits, that with all her dead forms, and cold and corrupt doctrines, there is yet to be found some of the devotional spirit of early piety circulating in her veins; she yet retains, though hidden from the people in an unknown tongue, many of those truly scriptural prayers, which in the service of the Church of England are, in their translated form, found to be so exquisitely adapted to the purposes of devotion. These prayers, however, are not to be mistaken for the compo-

[1] Rom. ix. 1-3.

sition of Popery, but are the revered and sacred remnants of pure antiquity, most of them having been extant in the Western Church above 1000 years before the name of Popery, at least long before the present mass-book, had a being.[2] Had the Roman Church adhered in everything to the form and practice of antiquity, there would have been no need of the Reformation, and nothing would have been heard of those violent disputes which have so rent the Church of Christ, in consequence of her departure from the primitive faith and practice. But the Reformers had no alternative; the Roman Church would not throw off her corruptions—they were compelled, therefore, to undertake the reformation for themselves. "Those worthy husbandmen," "in plucking up those pernicious weeds out of the Lord's field, and severing the chaff from his grain, cannot be rightly said, in doing this, either to have brought in another field, or to have changed the ancient grain. The *field is the same*, but weeded now, unweeded then; the *grain is the same*, but winnowed now, unwinnowed then."[3]

This is the plain state of the case, and in its further development, in the following pages, it will be observed with what caution the restorers of our Church either rejected what was contrary to Scripture and the practice of antiquity, or else retained "with reverence, whatever did

2 Venecr's Introduction to his Exposition of the Book of Common Prayer.

3 Archbishop Usher's Sermon on the Universality of the Church of Christ, published A.D. 1624.

not endamage the Church of God, nor offend the minds of sober men."

The author has only further to observe, that with reference to the introductory chapter, having been greatly interested in the recent discovery and restoration of the very ancient Church of Perranzabuloe—associated as it is with the early history of a county, whose simple-minded inhabitants were the last to surrender, as they were the first to assert, the independence of their church—he considers it to be so happily illustrative of the subject before him, that he hopes no apology is necessary for giving it a conspicuous place in this work: and without wishing to press the analogy too closely, he cannot doubt but that in the main features there will be discovered such a resemblance as will help materially to answer the old objection drawn from the Church's temporary obscurity and concealment.

The writer throughout has consulted the best authorities within his reach, and has only presumed in two cases to give any latitude to invention—in the parting address of St. Piran, alluded to by several historians, he has ventured to imagine what might have been the words of the dying saint—and in the silence of history respecting the identical Cornish shrine that the pious Alfred visited in his sickness, he has not hesitated to assign the honour to a tomb so celebrated as was that at Perranzabuloe.[4]

[4] Some further notices respecting the Church of Perranzabuloe, and its ancient place of sepulture, are added in the Appendix.

The Author cannot but believe that the favourable notice which the Public have taken of the former Editions of this little Volume, and the call that has been made on him at this time in particular, for the issue of a new Edition, is indicative of something better than the mere indulgence of an useless curiosity respecting an interesting relic of antiquity—he feels assured that it is the homage paid to TRUTH—the assent of unprejudiced minds, not to any "strange doctrines," but to a plain narration of facts—establishing by an unbroken chain of historical evidence the points to be proved, and beating down the vain and unfounded pretensions of the Church of Rome. He commits therefore, with increased confidence, this new Edition of his work to the same indulgent Public—he commends it again to the Blessing of HIM Who has promised to be with His Church even unto the end of the world!

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DOORWAY OF PERRANZABULOE CHURCH AS IT APPEARED IN 1835.

CHAPTER I.

"Regarded as a building, what is there to engage our attention? You would not find a house perhaps in the neighbourhood which would not, as a mere building, be more attractive. What then is it, which in this building inspires the veneration and affection it commands? We have mused upon it, when its grey walls dully reflected the glory of the noon-tide sun. We have looked upon it from a neighbouring hill, when bathed in the pure light of a summer's moon,—its lowly walls and tiny tower seemed to stand only as the shell of a large and ruder monument, amidst the memorials of the dead. Look upon it when and where we will, we find our affections yearn towards it; and we contemplate the little parish church with a delight and reverence that palaces cannot command. Whence then arises this? It arises not from the beauties and ornaments of the building, but *from the thoughts and recollections associated with it.*"—MOLESWORTH'S SUNDAY READER, No. 1.

THE stranger, who, in that joyous season, when all nature is bursting into life, traverses the lovely scenes of southern

Devon, and with thoughts still glowing with the recollection of her soft and verdant valleys, her deeply-embowered lanes, her meadows enamelled with a thousand flowers, crosses the dark waters of the Tamar, and from its wooded and high-towering banks, bears with him the further remembrance of her more romantic and sterner beauties—Oh! let him say, in the warmth of his recollections, as he approaches the north-western coast of Cornwall, how wild and cheerless is that long, bleak, barren belt of sand that girds the shore of Perran's Bay! The intervening moors, through which he has reached that desolate district, are, of themselves, sufficiently uninviting to any admirer of nature's more attractive scenery—and yet are they not altogether destitute of interest—the purple heather, and the gorse's saffron blossoms, and the busy hum of bees, as they collect their golden treasure from the fragrant thyme, give life and animation to the scene,—and many a relic of olden times, which still tells of Cornish prowess, or Cornish superstition, employs the thoughts, and serves to invest with a peculiar interest those uncultivated moorlands which on every side terminate the prospect, and almost without the aid of poetic fiction—

> "—— immeasurably spread,
> Seem lengthening as you go."

Yet these moors, wild and interminable as they appear, stand out in striking relief to the sea-girt tract that now bounds the way. What is there here to gladden the heart

of the passing stranger? Not a tuft of verdure refreshes his wearied sight—not a tree lifts up its branches to offer him its friendly shade—even the gorse and the heather, those children of the desert, refuse any longer to bear him company; he pursues his solitary way—waste after waste of undulating sand meets him at every step—and the hollow moan of the Atlantic waves, as they lash the distant Cligga,[1] or sullenly retire from the adjacent shore, falls upon his ear in sounds responsive to the wildness of the place. All nature is here in a garment of sadness. The very birds of heaven avoid the spot, and the sea-mews, soaring on high, scream piteously over this region of desolation, and with hasty wing betake themselves to the rocks and the waves, as less wild and less unfriendly. The stranger passes on—he quickens his step—and with anxious gaze looks forward to the termination of this tedious way. But a tract, if possible still more forbidding, rises before him with increasing barrenness. A succession of sand hills, varying in their elevation, enclose him in on every side, and by intercepting his view of the sea in some parts, casting their dark shadows on it in others, stamp on every quarter the character of more than ordinary loneliness and melancholy. Yet it is a spot full of the deepest interest—a solitude of the most heart-stirring recollections! Oh, stranger, whoever thou art, "put off thy shoes from thy feet—thou treadest on holy ground!"—thou standest over a sacred memorial of bygone days! Dear to every

[1] A rocky point in Perran's Bay.

faithful son of England's Church are the very stones that moulder here. Surely they would lift up their voices, though History's page were silent—they would cry out of the dust, though their story had not been embalmed in the memories of Cornishmen, who have handed down from generation to generation the imperishable record of their ancient glory. But history is not silent, and popular tradition, confirmed by antiquarian research, has long pointed to Perranzabuloe, as the site and sepulchre of an ancient British Church, founded at a very remote period, flourishing for a succession of ages in the midst of a very fertile district, and dispensing to a rude but religious people the blessings of Christianity, in its simplest form of primitive purity. At that distant day, the northern boundary of the extensive Hundred of Pydar yielded to none other in Cornwall, either in the fertility of its soil, or the abundance of its produce. Alas! how has "the fruitful place become a wilderness," and "the pleasant portion a a desolation!"

At the time when Christianity was first introduced into Cornwall, the people, like all the other inhabitants of the British islands, were devoted to the strange religion of the Druids, a religion that seems to have been a singular combination of the worship of *many gods*, with a belief in *one* God. They believed in some great universal Intelligence, and at the same time worshipped the Host of Heaven. Yet the sun, the moon, and the stars, were not the only objects of their veneration—the sublimest and wildest

objects of nature were transformed into so many deities. Rocks and cataracts, and torrents, and stately oak trees, were all the abode of some supernatural intelligence. Their priests, combining in themselves all political as well as religious authority, offered human sacrifices on every altar. Cornwall, from the natural boldness and wildness of its scenery, seems to have been more than any other portion of Britain the favourite seat of Druidism. Hence the numerōus altars, circles, basins, and cromlechs, which still abound in that interesting country,—and which, through its length and its breadth, from Tintagel to Castle Treryn, —from the frowning rocks of Carn-brē "to Dulōe's dark stream," proclaim, by their number and their magnitude, "there were giants in those days."

The people, no doubt, partook of the savage wildness of their rugged mountains, and the barbarous character of their inhuman creed; and though their intercourse with the Phœnician merchants must have largely contributed to their civilization, and have rendered them more easily accessible to those early missionaries, who offered them a merchandise better than of silver or gold, still they did not readily relinquish a religion that was so blended with their national feelings and institutions, and so closely associated with their wild and romantic scenery, and therefore were slower than the other inhabitants of Britain in embracing the humbling doctrines of a meek and crucified Saviour. At what moment Christianity was first planted in Cornwall, historians are by no means agreed. It is, however,

probable that it was introduced early in the third century, for we find that soon after the Saxons landed in Britain, and spread their conquest from east to west, "the Cornish purchased, by an annual tribute, from Cerdocius, permission still to exercise the rites of the Christian religion.[2] We also know that, about the middle of the fourth century, Solomon, Duke of Cornwall, openly professed Christianity; and there is little doubt but that the true faith must have made great progress there, even at that early day, inasmuch as the nobles, clergy, and people were, at the end of this century, "living happily together in the bonds of Christian unity."[3]

The first Cornish Apostle, of any note, was Corantinus (now called Cury), born in Brittany, who first preached to his own countrymen, and then to the Irish, till being violently expelled from that island, he passed over into Cornwall, and settled at last at the foot of a mountain, called Menehont,[4] was consecrated bishop by St. Martin, Bishop of Tours, and had the satisfaction of converting almost the whole of Cornwall before his death, A.D. 401.[5] Scarcely was Corantinus gathered to his fathers, when a more celebrated man than himself landed in Cornwall, and, from his extraordinary sanctity, acquired the highest reputation amongst the people.

This illustrious man was Piranus, born of noble parents,

[2] Rudborne's Chron. lib. ii. ch. i. Hist. Maj. Winton. Angl. Sac. i. 187.
[3] Whitaker, sect. 1. p. 32.
[4] Supposed to be Menhenniot, near Liskeard.
[5] Borlase, Antiq. p. 369.

in the county of Ossory in Ireland, A.D. 352, where he passed the first thirty years of his age, leading a life of strict morality, though not yet converted to the Christian faith. About the year 382, his conversion having been effected by the conversation of a Christian laic,[6] he determined to visit Rome, where he heard that that faith into which he had long desired to be baptized was sincerely taught and faithfully practised. He accordingly went to the imperial city, was further instructed in the Christian religion, and then baptized. He devoted some years afterwards to the diligent study of the Scriptures, the collecting of books, and the practice of Christian virtues, when, according to the Irish historians, he was ordained bishop, and sent back to Ireland, in company with five other holy priests, who were all afterwards bishops; viz. Lugacius, Columban, Meldanus, Lugad, and Cassan.

His first residence was in the heart of Ireland, in a place encompassed with woods and morasses, close to a lake called Fuaran: here he built himself a cell for his habitation, to which his sanctity attracted such multitudes, that a town was at last built there, called Saiger, "now, from the name of the saint, commonly called Sierkeran.[7] Here, he showed all concord, and subjection, and discipleship to St. Patrick, present or absent," and was very successful in converting that savage people; and, among

[6] Vid. Usher, John of Tinmouth, and Britan. Sancta.

[7] "St. Kieran is called by the Britons *Piran*, by a change of letters usual in their language; some Latins call him Queranus." Brit. Sanct. p. 154.

others, his mother, called, according to Usher, Liadan; or, with greater probability, according to Leland,[8] Wingela, and all his family, who constituted the clan of the Osraigi.

In confirmation of his doctrine, and in testimony of his sanctity, his chroniclers assert that God was pleased to work great miracles by his hands; and so great was his renown, that his cell was daily thronged with visitors from all parts of Ireland, whose numbers and officiousness became at last so intolerable to the saint, that giving out that he had received a divine call, and was desirous of preparing himself for his latter end by a more perfect retirement from all worldly distractions, he passed over into Cornwall,[9] taking with him his mother, and Breaca, Sinninus, Germochus, Iä, and many others, who, landing at St. Ives, dispersed themselves over the country, and acquired such veneration among the people, on account of their piety, that the Cornish have consecrated almost all their towns to the memory of Irish saints: "witness," says Camden, "St. Burian, St. Ives, St. Columb, St. Mewan, St. Erben, St. Eval, St. Wenn, and St. Enedor."[1]

These holy missionaries, who accompanied Piranus, took different directions; some went to the north, and others to the south, "while Iä remained at Pendinas on the

[8] Leland, Itin. III. 195.

[9] There is an absurd tradition current in the country, that says he was obliged to float over to Cornwall upon a millstone, as St. Petroc floated to Padstow upon an altar.

[1] John of Tinmouth.

west, and Piranus went to the east, and settled himself in a district near the sea, that is now known by the name of Perranzabuloe," or St. Pieran in the Sand.[2]

Here the holy man fixed his abode close to a spring of water, that still bears his name, but which was anciently called Fenton Berran. While "from this well he drew his beverage,"[3] he daily refreshed the multitudes who thronged around him with the living waters of eternal life, —instructed the ignorant, confirmed the weak, and earnestly exhorted them to turn from their dumb idols and worship their spiritual God in spirit and in truth. But it was not only *that* "knowledge which maketh wise unto salvation" that Piranus imparted to them from the pure word of God—from the abundant stores of a highly cultivated mind he instructed them in many of those elements of knowledge that are adapted to the purposes of common life—more especially communicating to them the art and mystery of working and reducing from their oxides the metals which abound in that neighbourhood. So that, with good reason, the Cornish miners have always regarded with peculiar veneration the name of Piranus, as their tutelary saint and benefactor. Even at this day his memory is cherished throughout Cornwall, where, on the 5th of March, the "tinners keep his feast, and hold a fair

2 Perranzabuloe takes its name from "Piranus in sabulo," Piran in the fine sand (sabulum). In the ancient Cornish language it is "Pieran in Treth." In the Lib. Val. of Hen. VIII. it is called Piran in Zabulo; while in Tanner's Not. Mon. it is called Piran-Sanz.

3 Tonkins' MS. as quoted by Borlase.

on the same day near his Church,"[4] "being allowed money to make merry withal, in honour of St. Piranus,"[5] their benefactor.

A benefactor he was in truth to the souls and bodies of thousands whose ignorance he enlightened, whose faith he strengthened, and among whom he left a pure, simple, unadulterated form of Christian worship, such as became a Church as yet unpolluted by human invention and unscriptural tradition.

The venerable saint could now, in the decline of years, triumphantly point to the success of his missionary labours; and having finished his course, and kept the faith, he was ready to depart. Sensible of his approaching end, he called his disciples around him, and, like one of the faithful patriarchs of old, calmly but earnestly discoursed to them concerning the kingdom of God—exhorted them to strive earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints—to remember they were members of Christ's mystical body, and therefore "in the liberty wherewith Christ had made them free," were no longer in bondage to any man, to serve any human creature, but Christ their Lord and Head. He entreated them to "search the Scriptures daily," and to consider them their only infallible rule of faith, as being amply sufficient, with the teaching of God's Spirit, to "make them wise unto salvation." He forewarned them of evil days that should arise to the Church of Christ, when, according to the sure word of prophecy, there should

[4] Tonkins' MS [5] Dr. Borlase

come "a falling away first, and that man of sin should be revealed, the son of perdition, who should oppose and exalt himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he, as God, should sit in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God"[6]—when "the mystery of iniquity should work," "sitting on the *seven hills*" (of Rome), and "drunk with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of prophets, and of the martyrs of Jesus," "should reign over the kings of the earth," "with all power, and signs, and lying wonders."[7] "And now," concluded the dying saint, "'I am going the way of all flesh,' and after my departure 'I fear lest by any means, as the serpent beguiled Eve through his subtlety, so your minds should be corrupted from the simplicity that is in Christ.' 'Stand fast therefore in the profession of your faith without wavering;' 'and beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the *tradition* of men, and not after Christ.'[8] And be not 'ignorant concerning them which sleep, that ye sorrow not, even as others which have no hope. For if ye believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so *them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with him.*'[9] 'Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints.'"[1]

Such were the Scriptural words of warning, comfort, and exhortation, which we may presume flowed from the lips of the holy man, as he poured forth his soul unto

[6] 2 Thess. ii. 3. [7] Rev. xvii. & 2 Thess. ii. 9.
[8] Col. ii. 8. [9] 1 Thess. iv. 13. [1] Psal. cxvi. 15.

death; then, with the triumphant composure of one rejoicing in the near prospect of his crown of righteousness, Piran calmly commanded his grave to be dug,[2] and with a resolute step descending into it, he kneeled down; there, with clasped hands and uplifted eyes, he meekly surrendered his soul into the hands of his Creator. His sorrowing friends re-echoed his dying words, and the valleys rung with the loud response,—"Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord: yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours."[3]

On a spot so dear to memory, as enshrining the mortal remains of the beloved bishop and pastor of their souls, his affectionate flock immediately erected, with their own hands, a church inscribed with his name, and dedicated to the service of that pure religion which he so faithfully taught;—there the unadulterated word of God was intelligibly read and faithfully expounded;—there the two sacraments, ordained by Christ himself as generally necessary to salvation, were rightly and duly administered;—there "the incense" of prayer, and "the pure offering" of praise, were daily lifted to that Name which already was great among the heathen;—and there the flame which Piran had kindled in the hearts of Cornishmen, burnt brightly and steadily for many successive generations.

The church of St. Piran, thus erected over the body of so good and great a man became the resort of Christian

[2] John of Tinmouth, Usher, &c. [3] Rev. xiv. 13.

worshippers from all parts of the world, and took a conspicuous lead in diffusing the light of pure religion throughout the country. The Britons had already become as highly distinguished for the purity and simplicity of their faith as they had been before for their blind superstition and barbarous idolatry. "How often in Britain," says Chrysostom, who lived in the fourth century, "did men eat the flesh of their own kind! Now they refresh their souls with fastings."[4] And St. Jerome, writing about the same time, says, with a more direct reference to Cornwall, "the Britons who live apart from our world, if they go in pilgrimage, will leave the *western parts*, and seek Jerusalem, known to them by fame only, and by the *Scriptures*."[5] The Scriptures, therefore, were, without doubt, freely circulated, and as freely read at this early period; and proved, in after times, when the national Church of Britain became overwhelmed with the corruptions of an anti-christian and foreign domination, the two-edged sword with which they repelled the sorceries of the "beast." Armed with this weapon of heavenly temper, long did the Cornish people resist the repeated encroachments of Rome, and refused to surrender their independence, or even to hold any communion whatever with so corrupt and apostate a Church.

This determined resistance—this spirited assertion of their independence, was remarkably exhibited on a question that had already called forth the spirit of defiance from

[4] Serm. on Pentecost. [5] Epist. ad Marcellam.

the British Church in general; namely, the time for keeping Easter. The Saxons, who had been converted by St. Augustin, following the practice of the Church of Rome, celebrated it on the Sunday next after the Jewish Passover; while the Cornish, in conformity with all the Asiatic churches, and the practice of the Apostles themselves, kept it on the same day as the Jewish Passover was held. Their resolute refusal to comply with the Romish practice drew upon them, and the British Church in general, the bitterest invectives of their enemies. One historian of the day, in consequence of their refusal, calls them, in common with all the British, "a perfidious nation, a detestable army;"[6] another denounces them as "a polluted people" (contaminata gens);[7] and a third declares that the Britons are a wicked and cursed nation, for thus rejecting the practice of Rome.[8] Another old writer, in rather milder terms, speaking of the firm adherence of the Cornish, and the people of West and North Wales (Demecia et Venedocia), to their *ancient faith*, says, "Yet are they thought only reprehensible on this account, that *always even to this* day, they mortally hate the English (Saxons), as if they were by them proscribed from their own territories, nor will they hold any communion with them more than if they were so many dogs."[9]

After the death of king Arthur, in the fatal battle that

[6] Huntington, p. 187.
[7] Malmesbury, p. 28.
[8] Bede, Eccl. Hist.
[9] Matt. Paris, p. 104. Edit. Francof.

was fought in Cornwall, A.D. 542, the Saxons prevailed in nearly every part of England, and strove as far as they could to extirpate Christianity from the land. The poor Britons, and Christianity together, retreated before their idolatrous invaders, and sought refuge at last in the extremities of the island; so that, in 597, Theonus, archbishop of London, and Thadiocus, archbishop of York, seeing all their churches destroyed, their clergy fled into Wales and Armorica, and the Christians everywhere expelled from the country, "retired with other bishops into Cornwall and Wales, where by their labours they so plentifully propagated the Gospel, that they made those parts, especially above all others, glorious by the multitude of their holy saints and learned teachers."[1]

In the following century, the Saxons being at length converted to Christianity, though the country appears to have been much overrun with monks, the Cornish successfully maintained their ground, and even managed such religious societies as had been founded among them *by rules of their own.* This is evident from the reprimand that Geruntius, king of the Cornish Britons, received about this time from Aldhelm, bishop of Sherburn, in consequence of his permitting the monks of Cornwall to use a different tonsure from that of the Romish Church. What effect this ecclesiastical censure produced on the king and clergy does not appear; but, without doubt, it was treated with the contempt it merited; for, "though

[1] Usher, Brit. Eccl. Antiq.

the Saxon bishops pretended a right to direct and rule the Cornish in matters of religion, yet in reality the Cornish were as averse to receive orders from them as from the Saxon princes, with whom being almost constantly at war, they surrendered neither their civil nor religious rights—*continuing Christians*, but *on the first plan, independent, though persecuted;* and esteeming the religion of the English (Saxons) as nothing, the Cornish would no more communicate with them than with Pagans, accounting *that of the Welsh* and *themselves* the *only true* Christianity."[2]

This noble independence the Cornish maintained with unshaken constancy, till the synod convened by Edward on the death of his father Alfred, A.D. 905, whereat sundry provisions were made expressly with the view of recovering them from what the Saxons called "their errors." By these errors, however, we are to understand, "*their refusing to acknowledge the papal authority.*"[3]

Thus it is evident that the Britons in Cornwall resisted the usurpations of Rome much longer than the rest of their countrymen, and it was not till the above-named year, 905, that they surrendered any portion of their independence. At that fatal period "Edward the Elder, with the Pope's consent, settled a Bishop's see among them, which, by the Pope's power, *then greatly prevailing*, in a short time reduced them, *much against their will* to

2 Usher, Hist. Brit. Antiq. p. 1152.
3 Rapin's Hist. vol. i. p. 112.

submit their ancient faith[4] *to the conduct of papal discipline.*"[5]

"This bishopric was founded principally for the reduction of the *rebellious* Cornish to the Romish rites, who, as they used the language, so they imitated the lives and doctrine of the *ancient* Britons, neither *hitherto*, nor long after, submitting themselves to the see apostolic."[6]

The see was originally fixed at Bodmin, Adelstan being the first bishop. There it continued till the year 981, when that town being sacked and burnt by the Danes, the bishop removed the see to St. Germans, where it remained till 1049, in which year Livingus, abbot of Tavistock, and bishop of Crediton, by his interest with King Canute, prevailed so far as to unite the two bishoprics; and Leofricus, his successor, alarmed at the ravages committed by the pirates on the open towns of Crediton and St. Germans, removed them both to Exeter, in the reign of Edward the Confessor.

During these dark and troubled times, little is known of the history of St. Piran's Church, beyond the fact that time did not diminish the reputation of the saint. On the

[4] Gibson informs us, in his edition of Camden's Britannia, that only "three books are known to exist in the ancient Cornish tongue, one of which contains the history of our Saviour's passion. It always has 'Chrest' for 'Christ,' according to the ancient Roman way of writing 'Chrestus' for 'Christus.' By the characters and pictures of this ancient book, it looks like the time of Richard III., or thereabouts, and *positively determines against the Roman doctrine of Transubstantiation.*" This fact would induce us to believe that the Cornish rejected the main errors of Popery for a longer period than is generally thought.

[5] Rowland.

[6] Fuller's Ch. Hist. Cent. x. b. ii. p. 4.

contrary, his shrine became the resort of devout worshippers without number, and princes and nobles did not disdain to kneel at the tomb of the Cornish apostle. Alfred the Great had ever viewed such spots as hallowed ground, and there is little doubt but that it was before the shrine of Piran this pious prince threw himself, in fervent adoration, at the time when he visited Cornwall. "Long was he prostrate, offering urgently humble suit to heaven, that an unhappy constitution might not realize his most insupportable apprehensions. On his homeward journey he thought himself relieved."[7] Certain it is, that in after ages, as the Romish superstitions increased, and the merit of pilgrimages and of sin-offerings became at once an article of faith and a source of revenue to a corrupt priesthood—so were multiplied to an extraordinary extent the rich oblations that were laid on St. Piran's tomb.[8] And it is no insignificant proof of the wealth that was thus accumulated even as early as the reign of Edward the Confessor, that at that time a Dean and Canons were established there, and the Church was endowed with estates and the privileges of a sanctuary. It was afterwards considered by Henry I. sufficiently valuable to be made by him a royal gift to the Dean and Chapter of Exeter.

From that distant day, what hand shall lift the veil that for 700 years has concealed St. Piran's Church from

[7] Asserius Menevensis de Vita Alfredi, 40.
[8] Vide a deed in the Registry at Exeter, dated 1485.
[9] Tanner's Not. Monast.

the gaze of adoring crowds? Who shall declare the mysterious truth that stamps a character of almost incredible fiction on the history of Perranzabuloe? That a church so celebrated in Cornish annals should have disappeared at the very moment when a flood of corruption and superstition was rolling into England from papal Rome—that the very aspect of the adjoining country should have totally changed—that over the face of Nature herself should have passed the withering hand of some mighty catastrophe—these are facts so evident, yet so perplexing, that who shall declare them? Happily for posterity, history is not entirely silent; and seven centuries have not sufficed to blot out the record of events which *religious* tradition ("at no time," as it has been well remarked, "so easily lost as that which is purely *historical*,"[1]) has carefully preserved among the inhabitants of Perranzabuloe. While it points with undoubted certainty to the past distinction of the ancient Church—its purity—its stability—its independence—it tells moreover of aggression—repeated, insidious, long-resisted aggression. It speaks of the ruinous effects of natural causes—of the overwhelming weight of the great Western Sea, advancing, invading, year after year, this once fruitful district, and gradually breaking down all the ancient barriers that had for many ages successfully resisted the inroads of the restless Atlantic. It tells of the strenuous exertions of the inhabitants in stemming the invading waters—of the gradual submersion of this devoted

1 Chateaubriand's Travels to the Holy Land. Introd. to vol. i.

portion of Cornwall—it points to the hillocks of sand, as the collected offscouring of the turbulent ocean, which the north-west wind,[2] "the tyrant of this coast," as Camden calls it,[3] sweeping along with unceasing and accumulating rapidity, has spread over to a great depth the once verdant meadows of this ill-fated parish. Vesuvius has not more effectually thrown its sable mantle of volcanic dust over the city and gardens of Pompeii. Like that unhappy city, the Church of St. Piran was buried, but not overthrown, —its foundation being on a rock, and its walls compactly though rudely built, it yielded not to the outward pressure, —the fine sand insinuating itself through every aperture, like drifting snow,[4] rapidly accumulated around its passive victim,—deeper and deeper yet it thickened on every side, and rising at last above its highest pinnacle, accomplished the total enshrinement of the sacred edifice. The sandy submersion was complete—the overflowing scourge had so effectually done its work, that not a trace remained to mark the place of entombment, save a swelling mound that lifted itself unaccountably high in this waste of sand, and seemed to throw an air of probability on those strange tales of the neighbourhood, which, though rife on every Cornish tongue, savoured only of legendary fiction. Yet the neighbouring tinner, as he passed the spot, with rever-

2 This is the ancient Caurus, a wind which Mr. Sumner, in his Treatise "De Portu Iccio," has shown to be a particular enemy to all such ports as are exposed to it.

3 "Caurus hujus littoris tyrannus."

4 "Occursabant trepidantibus adhuc oculis mutata omnia, altoque cinere tanquam nive obducta."—Plin. Ep. xx.

ence trod the holy ground, and seemed to feel, he knew not wherefore, a religious awe as he hastened by.[5] The very children bowed their uncovered heads, and with quickened pace and suspicious look ran past on the other side!

Centuries have rolled away, and the sands have deepened, and the winds and the waves have further encroached; so that this persecuted "parish but too well brooketh his surname 'in Sabulo;' for the light sand, carried up by the north wind from the seashore, daily continueth his covering and marring the lands adjoinant, so as the distresse of this deluge drave the inhabitants (circiter 1433) to remove their church."[6] And we find from another ancient historian, that more than 300 years ago, the parish was "almost drowned with the sea sande that the N. W. winde whirleth and driveth to the lande in such force as the inhabitantes have been once already forced to remove their church, and yet they are so annoyde, as they dayly loose their lande."[7]

Such has been the melancholy condition of Perranzabuloe, nearly from the time of the Norman invasion, though there is reason to believe that the Church itself was not entirely buried till the twelfth century,—simultaneously, be it remarked, with that far deeper and darker entombment of the more ancient Church of England in the silt and sand of Popish corruption.

[5] "Jam tum Religio pavidos terrebat agrestes
Dira loci."—VIRG. Æn. lib. viii. 349.

[6] Carew's Survey of Cornwall.

[7] Norden's Hist. of Cornwall, p. 68.

Many have been the attempts made, from time to time, by enterprising individuals, to clear away the superincumbent mass, and to restore to the light of day so interesting a relic of the piety of their forefathers. At times the work seemed to prosper in their hands, and at the moment when success had almost crowned their labour, their old enemies, the waves and the winds, would mar the enterprise—and the Church slept on in her sandy bed.

At length approached the year 1835, the glorious Tercentenary of the unlocking of the Bible from the tongue in which it had been hidden from the people. It is a curious and memorable coincidence, that, in this same year another treasure, precious to every Cornish Protestant, has also been unlocked, by the single efforts of a spirited individual—Perranzabuloe, the lost, has been found—the bound has been set free. A gentleman[8] of singular enterprise and perseverance, neither deterred by difficulties, nor intimidated by former failures, resolutely put his hand to the work; and, though the waves foamed on the neighbouring shore, and the winds, with more than accustomed fury "drave and whirled" around him the densest clouds of suffocating sand, yet, nothing dismayed, the work advanced—every obstacle was overcome—till at last he had the unspeakable honour and happiness of laying open to admiring crowds the ancient British

[8] William Michell, Esq. of Comprègney, near Truro, to whom the author is largely indebted for many of the particulars here related, and also for the drawings which accompany the volume.

Church, and of presenting it, in all its unpretending simplicity, its rude but solid workmanship, to the wonder of antiquarians, and the gratitude of Cornishmen.

The sand that centuries had been accumulating was carefully removed, and every part of the sacred building, though deeply encrusted with the penetrating dust, was easily restored to its original state; so that, with the exception of its roof and doors, it was found to be as perfect as when first erected. The masonry of the walls is remarkably rude, but as remarkably solid and compact; and, without doubt, is one of the earliest specimens of stone building that superseded the mud-wattled walls of the first British Churches.[9] It appears never to have contained more than two small windows, and probably, like the earliest Irish Churches, a stone roof, admitting it might be some light, or otherwise the service at that early time might have been performed by the light of tapers; for we learn, from an early historian, that in Achaia, in Thessaly, and Jerusalem, it was the custom to go to prayers when the candles were lighted; and likewise that in Cappadocia, Cyprus, and Cæsarea, the bishops and presbyters did not expound the Scriptures till after the candles were lighted. This early practice was afterwards converted into two distinct offices in the Greek and Latin Churches: in the former it was called λυχνικὸν, in the latter "lucernarium."[1] It is possible, therefore, that this

9 "Ecclesia Virgea." Spelman Conc. I. p. 71.
1 Socrates, Schol. Hist. Notes to lib. v. p. 347.

custom of some of the Eastern Churches might have been introduced at Perranzabuloe, and may thus account for the absence of more and larger windows.

The doorway was found to be in high preservation, neatly ornamented with the Egyptian zigzag, or arrow, having on the keystone of its round-headed arch a tiger's head sculptured, and two human heads on the corbels of the arch. On entering the interior, it was found to contain none of the modern accompaniments of a Roman Catholic place of worship. Here was no rood-loft for the hanging up of the host, nor the vain display of fabricated relics—no latticed confessional—no sa'cring bell,[2] no daubed and decorated images of the Virgin Mary, or of saints, to sanction the idolatrous transgression of the second commandment. Here was found nothing that indicated the unscriptural adoration of the wafer, or the no less unscriptural masses for the dead. The most diligent search was made for beads and rosaries, pyxes and agnus deis, censers and crucifixes—not one—not the remnant of one, could be discovered. Strange, that this *ancient* Church should so belie the Papists' constant appeal to *antiquity*—to the *faith of their forefathers*—to the *old religion!* Strange, that it should, on the contrary, so closely harmonize with that novelty which Cranmer and the Reformers introduced into the doctrine and ritual of the Church of England! For, in the absence of all these inventions and wonder-workings of popery, what does this

2 A bell rung before the host.

little Church contain? At the eastern end, in a plain, unornamented chancel, stands a very neat but simple altar tomb; and in the nave of the Church are stone seats, of the like simple construction, attached to the western, northern, and southern walls: with such humble accommodations were our fathers content, who worshipped God in spirit and in truth! The Church, originally, contained also a very curious stone font,[3] which fortunately has been preserved; having been removed before the building was irretrievably buried in the sand. This font was transferred to the second Church, mentioned by Carew and Norden, and now stands in the third or present parish church at Lambourne.[4] On removing the altar, three skeletons[5]

[3] Vid. the vignette at the end of the chapter.

[4] When the inhabitants were deprived of their ancient Church, they erected another on the other side of the valley, about half a mile further off, close to a brook, which, according to Carew, was considered a protection against the sand. "Howbeit," he observes, "when he meeteth with any crossing brooke, the same, by a secret antipathy, restraineth and barreth his further encroachment that way." Unfortunately, this brook was in process of time dried up by the adits made for draining the tin mines; and consequently the accustomed protection was taken away. Borlase, in a MS. account of an excursion made in 1755 to this spot, speaks of the second Church as "being then in no little danger, the sands being spread all around it." It stood among the sand-hills, with only a solitary cottage near it, half-buried in the sand, and the porch frequently so blocked up, that it was with great difficulty admittance could be obtained. It was therefore determined, about 63 years ago, to abandon also the second Church, and to build a third, three miles off, more in the centre of the parish, at Lambourne, taking for the purpose the pillars, &c. of the second Church. This was accordingly done, and the new Church was consecrated by Dr. Fisher, Bishop of Exeter, in 1805. It consists of a neat though low tower, two aisles, and two transepts. The tower of the second Church, according to a sketch of it that is still in existence, was a very fine one. It contained one aisle, and a south transept, with pointed windows, neatly decorated.

[5] The ground around the Church, when the author visited it for the first time in 1835, was strewed with human bones, which from time to time had been uncovered by the winds, and were bleaching on the sand. Vide Appendix.

were discovered; one of gigantic dimensions, the second of moderate size, and the third apparently of a female. No doubt the former is that of the old saint Piranus[6] himself, and the latter his aged mother Wingela. They were carefully replaced in their narrow cell; there, let us hope, to remain undisturbed till that day when "the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible!"[7]

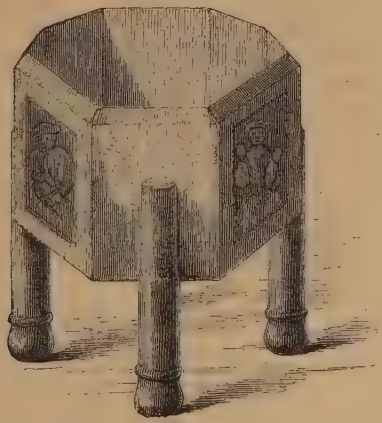
Such are the particulars attending the discovery and restoration of Perranzabuloe—a discovery most interesting to the lover of antiquarian lore—a restoration invaluable to those who are happily within the pale of the Established Church. Legibly can we read in its history, now that it is scoured and cleared of what so long had defaced its ancient characters, the image and superscription of our pure and reformed Church—it illustrates, in a manner most literally and strikingly true, the actual condition of the long-lost Church of England at the time of the Reformation—when it was not *rebuilt* but *restored*, *purged*, and *cleansed*, from those monstrous errors and incrustations which the Church of Rome, the great Western tyrant, had spread over the walls of our Zion, and by her repeated encroachments had at last entombed in the very dust and depth of her own abominations.

To our Protestant and Roman Catholic brethren, we

[6] "In sabulo positum S. Pirano Sacellum, qui sanctus etiam Hibernicus hic requiescit." Camden, p. 180.

[7] The will of Sir John Arundel of Trerice, dated 1433, contains this singular bequest:—"Item, lego ad usum Parochiæ S'ci Pyerani in Zabulo ad claudendum capud S. Pierani honorifici et meliori modo quo sciunt."

would say, in the spirit of congratulation to the one, and of solemn warning to the other—"Behold here the *pattern* of the *altar of the Lord*, which our fathers made, not for *burnt-offerings* nor for *sacrifices;* but it is *a witness between us and you.* God forbid that we should rebe against the Lord." Joshua xxii. 28, 29.



ANCIENT STONE FONT IN PERRANZABULOE CHURCH.

CHAPTER II.

"Thou son of man, show the house to the house of Israel, that they may be ashamed of their iniquities: and let them measure the pattern.
"And if they be ashamed of all that they have done, show them the form of the house, and the fashion thereof, and the goings out thereof, and the comings in thereof, and all the forms thereof, and all the ordinances thereof, and all the forms thereof, and all the laws thereof: and write it in their sight, that they may keep the whole form thereof, and all the ordinances thereof, and do them."—EZEK. xliii. 10, 11.

By that pattern, then, which our fathers have left us, as a lasting testimony between Protestants and Roman Catholics, we desire to have our Church measured, and "showing" our erring Roman Catholic brethren, in the following pages, "the form of our house," and "the goings out thereof, and the comings in thereof," we will fearlessly answer that old and threadbare question, which, from the days of Cardinal Bellarmine to the present moment, has ever been tauntingly asked, "Where was your religion before Luther?" by pointing to Perranzabuloe, and by now putting ourselves the question, "Where was that Church before its restoration?" A "latent Church," it is true—deeply "latent" in the sands of the sea—but not less on

that account a Christian Church. Therefore, the stress that Roman Catholics formerly laid on the necessity of a visibility for proving the existence of a true Church, is worth nothing—the pattern before us at once settles the question—it is better than a thousand arguments—it demonstrates, beyond all controversy, that a "Church's obscurity is never repugnant to its visibility—nor its visibility such as excludes all latency."[1] Therefore, though the Church of England may have been "latent" for a time —nay, for 400 years buried in deeper sands than Perranzabuloe—still she was a Church, still she had the "requisite lineaments of an unaccountable visibility." But it seems that our opponents have all but yielded the argument of *visibility*, and have broken fresh ground; and, whilst Luther and the German Reformers are still anathematized as the inventors of a *new religion*, and Cranmer and the members of the united Church of England and Ireland are branded with the name of schismatics, and the Reformation itself is artfully held up to the Protestant Dissenters as a precedent for that selfsame sin of schism with which they are charged by ourselves; they arrogate

1 The reader is particularly requested to peruse with attention a highly interesting letter at the end of this volume, from the Earl of Manchester to his son Walter Montague, who had embraced the Romish faith, wherein he most ably confutes this and other arguments used by the Roman Catholics of his day. The author, possessing a manuscript copy of this letter, purporting to have been communicated by the said Walter to the Earl of Leicester, had believed it to be the unpublished original; but since he finds it was printed by Dr. Hammond, in his second vol. p. 700. He has, however, republished it, from a persuasion that it will not be unacceptable to the reader: being an able refutation, from a laymen's pen, of some of the most plausible arguments in favour of Roman Catholicism.

to themselves the credit of *antiquity*, and fain would persuade the world that Romanism is our elder sister by 1500 years.[2] Now *antiquity*, being justly considered "the voice and practice of men," is an argument of considerable force, and has been made, *we are painfully conscious*, but a too successful claptrap for enmeshing within its folds the young and ardent imaginations of such as are of a high-wrought and romantic turn of mind. Yes, "The old religion, the old religion!" is now the constant cry. "The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord!" was the senseless shout of the apostate Jews of old; but the prophet pronounced them to be "lying words."[3] We Protestants re-echo the prophet, and shall "cry aloud, and spare not," so long as we hold in our hands the Bible, the Charter of our liberty. For anything, under the name of Christianity, which that blessed book does not recognise, we reject—if not to be found in the book of the law and the testimony, it must be an invention of later date than the book itself. The additions accumulated by the Church of Rome are certainly very old, but the foundation against which she has heaped her *sandy* system *must be older still*. That foundation is the Bible—and the Bible is our religion. There our religion was before the days of Cranmer, of

2 The Roman Catholics generally assume to themselves *four marks* of being the true Church:—1. *Unity*. 2. *Holiness* 3. *Catholicity*. 4. *Apostolicity*. Bellarmine records thirteen more, viz.—*Antiquity—Duration—Amplitude—Succession of Bishops*—agreement in doctrine with the primitive Church—*Sanctity of doctrine—Efficacy of Doctrine—Holiness of life—Miracles—Prophecy—Confession of adversaries—Unhappy end of enemies—Temporal felicity*.

3 Jerem. vii. 4.

Luther, of Wickliffe! We desire not to prove our religion older than the Bible. And this is "a free challenge betwixt us. Let the elder have us both: if there be any point of our religion younger than patriarchs and prophets, Christ and his apostles, the fathers and doctors of the primitive Church, let it be accursed and condemned for an upstart: show us evidence of more credit and age, and carry it."[4]

But in every appeal to the Holy Scriptures, which Protestants are disposed to make, we are well aware how slight is the effect likely to be produced on men who ground *their belief of* the Bible itself on *their belief in an infallible Church.* It is vain to argue thus with Romanists, who have so strangely inverted the whole edifice of religion, as to make the "original foundations of the Church stand upon the spires and pinnacles of the Christian superstructure."[5] We shall not therefore stop to prove, what has been proved again and again, that the established Church of England claims the love and veneration of her children on the very ground of their belief in the Bible, as a sufficient rule of faith; but we will rather endeavour to show, by the evidence of history, that if antiquity is of any value in determining the question (and the Romanists certainly do lay the greatest stress upon it), then the Church of England has nothing to fear; she has all the argument in her favour, and may safely challenge a prece-

4 Bishop Hall's Serious Dissuasive from Popery, fol. p. 544.
5 Blanco White's "Poor Man's Preservative."

dence in these realms, if not in Rome itself, on that simple ground alone. And if the higher antiquity of the British Church be established, it will consequently follow that the Reformation did not *create* a *new, but found the old religion*, and therefore that the assertion of the Romanists, repeated with so much industry, that the Church of England *sprung out of popery*, is a vain imagination, invented for the wicked purpose of "hunting the souls" of God's people, and "causing them to err" from the safe way.

We deny, therefore, once and again, that the united Church of England and Ireland, either *sprung out of popery*, or *separated*, or *seceded*, *dissented*, or *divided from* that Church; and with equal confidence we assert, that she was an *established branch* of the Catholic Church, *apostolical in her foundation*, and *independent of every* other Church, 500 years and more, before popery had any existence whatever in this country—that she was a *national* Church *recognised by the ruling power* of the country 136 years before the Church of Rome was, and that the supremacy which the Popes of Rome gradually claimed over her, began, continued, and ended in one of the most unjust and presumptuous usurpations to be found in the records of the world. We are also prepared to show, that Protestantism is so far from being a *novelty*, that our national Church was a *protesting* Church 927 years before the Diet of Spire, held A.D. 1529.[6] These points we will now

[6] At this Diet the name of "Protestants" was first given to those Reformers, who there *protested* against the errors and corruptions of the Church of Rome.

proceed to prove; and we fearlessly challenge our opponents to "show us evidence of more credit or age."

At the time when Christianity was first planted in the world, the state of Britain very closely resembled that of Cornwall, as described in the former chapter; the people were idolaters in the grossest sense of the word, for they seem to have already engrafted on the system of Druidism the most revolting features of Roman Paganism. Inasmuch, however, as the priests never committed any of their mysteries to writing, little is known of the nature of that religion, as celebrated in the rude circles of Stonehenge and Stanton Drewe, or the more polished temple of Andate, at Camelodunum, except that it was accompanied with human sacrifices, and the most grotesque rites.

However historians may differ as to the precise moment of Christianity being introduced into Britain, they are unanimous in stating that the Gospel was first preached here in the very infancy of the Church. Eusebius positively asserts that the apostles themselves first introduced it. Baronius, the Roman annalist, declares, on the authority of an ancient MS. in the Vatican, that the Gospel was first propagated here by Simon Zelotes, the apostle, and Joseph of Arimathea, and that the latter came over A.D. 35, and died here. Callistus makes the same assertion; and Dorotheus, Bishop of Tyre, in his "Synopsis of the Apostles," records the landing in Britain of Simon, and states it as a fact that he was slain and buried here; and moreover, that Aristobulus, who is mentioned by St. Paul

in his Epistle to the Romans, was ordained the first bishop of Britain.

William of Malmesbury agrees with the Vatican MS. in assigning this honour to Joseph of Arimathea, but fixes his arrival at a later period; for he declares that he was sent to Britain by St. Philip, A.D. 61. Lippomanus asserts, and Nicephorus repeats the assertion, that St. Peter preached also to the Britons; "for he carried," says the latter, "the same doctrine to the Western Ocean and to the British Isles."

Without, however, relying implicitly on any one of these authorities, we are content, on less doubtful testimony, to refer the foundation of our Church to rather a later period, though certainly to apostolic times; and it is not the fault of the best historical evidence, if we do not succeed in assigning so distinguished an honour to him, who was emphatically the great Apostle of the *Gentiles*. In the tracts published by the late pious and learned Bishop of Sarum,[7] it is most satisfactorily shown, from credible testimony, that whilst to the apostles generally, to St. Paul most especially are we indebted for the foundation of our national Church. The authorities of the first six centuries appear to be so conclusive, the wonder is there can be any longer a doubt on the subject.

Thus in the first century, Clemens Romanus, the "intimate friend and fellow-labourer of St. Paul," declares, in his Epistle to the Corinthians, that he preached the Gospel

[7] Dr. Burgess.

"even to the *utmost* bounds of the west," an expression, as it is well known to every scholar, that always designated, or at least included the British islands.

In the second century, Irenæus speaks of Christianity as having been propagated to *the utmost bounds of the earth* by the apostles; and specifies the Churches they planted in "Spain, and among the Celtic nations."[8] The Celts included the Germans, Gauls, and *Britons*. Tertullian, who lived in the end of this and the beginning of the third century, says that "the most distant regions had received through the apostles the faith of Christ. He reigns among people whom the Roman arms have never yet subdued: among the different tribes of Getulia and Mauritania, in the farthest extremities of Spain, and Gaul, and *Britain*."[9]

In the fourth century, Eusebius says that some of the apostles, "passed over the ocean to the British isles;"[1] and Jerome, in the same century, declares of St. Paul, that "after his imprisonment, having been in Spain, he went from ocean to ocean, and that he preached the Gospel in the *western parts*."[2] In "the western parts" he included Britain, as is evident from a passage in his Epistle to Marcella.

In the fifth century Theodoret mentions the *Britons* amongst the nations converted by the apostles, and says that St. Paul, after his imprisonment, visited Spain, "and from thence carried the light of the Gospel to other na-

8 Iren. lib. i. ii. 2, 3.
1 Euseb. Demonst. Evang. lib. iii. c. 5.
9 Tert. Apol. c. 7.
2 De Script. Eccles.

tions."[3] He says, moreover, that St. Paul "brought salvation (ὠφέλειαν) to the islands that lie in the ocean;"[4] and that these islands meant the British islands is evident from the description given of them by Chrysostom. "For the British islands which lie beyond the sea, and are in the very *midst of the ocean*, have felt the power of the word."[5]

Our own historian, Gildas the Wise, who lived in this century, also informs us that Christianity was introduced into Britain before the defeat of the British Queen Boadicea by Suetonius. Now as that event took place in the year 61, and the martyrdom of St. Paul did not happen before the year 68, it is by no means improbable that the Gospel was introduced by that apostle, between the year 58, when he was released from his imprisonment at Rome, and the year 61, when Boadicea was defeated by the Romans.

In the sixth century, we have the further evidence of Venantius Fortunatus, who in his well-known couplet asserts that St. Paul sailed across the ocean to the island which the Briton inhabits.

To these authorities of the first six centuries may be added the later, but very high testimony of Archbishop Parker,[6] who states his persuasion that St. Paul preached the Gospel to the Britons, in the interval between his first and second imprisonment at Rome: and with him agree

[3] In Annot. 2 Epist. ad Tim. iv. 17.
[4] Tom. i. In Psalm cxvi.
[5] Orat. tom. i.
[6] De Vetust. Eccl. Brit.

also the opinions of Camden, Usher, Stillingfleet, Cave, Gibson, Godwin, Rapin, and many others who have closely examined the question, and who are all decided in their belief that *St. Paul was the founder of the British Church.*

We further learn, from Archbishop Usher, who cites many authorities for his assertion, that St. Paul did not leave the island before he had appointed the first bishop[7] or bishops, and the other ministers of the Church— that Aristobulus, whose name is to be found in the Epistle to the Romans, was the bishop he first appointed—and that the three orders of bishop, priest, and deacon, were arranged by St. Paul for the future government of the Church.

Nor is it contrary to probability that St. Paul should have thus visited the remotest people in the then known world. His active mind was continually urging him to fresh conquests among the Gentiles. For the space of thirty-five years after his conversion, he seldom tarried long in one place—from Jerusalem, through Arabia, Greece, round about to Illyricum, to Rome, he fully preached the Gospel of Christ,—"running," says St. Jerome, "from ocean to ocean, like the sun in the heavens, of which it is said, his going forth is from the end of the heaven, and his circuit unto the ends of it;" "sooner wanting ground to tread on, than a desire to propagate the faith of Christ."

Nicephorus[8] compares him to a bird in the air, that in a few years flew round the world; Isidore,[9] the Pelusiot,

7 Usher, Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 5.
8 Lib. iii. c. i. 9 Lib. iii. Epist. 176.

likens him to a "winged husbandman, that flew from place to place to cultivate the world with the most excellent rules and institutions of life." "And while the other apostles did, as it were, choose this or that particular province, as the main sphere of their ministry, St. Paul overran the whole world to its utmost bounds and corners, planting all places where he came with the divine doctrines of the Gospel."[1] Thus the active disposition of the apostle would alone be sufficient to warrant the conclusion, that in his long and various journeys, he would not fail to visit so important a Roman conquest and colony as Britain.

But there is one other circumstance that tends to strengthen this probability. It happened that Bran, the father of Caractacus, who was a captive at Rome, went with others of his family to that city as hostages for his noble son, A.D. 51. He remained there seven years—became a convert to Christianity—and, on his return to Britain, carried the knowledge of the true faith to his savage countrymen. St. Paul was sent to Rome, A.D. 56, and remained there a prisoner at large for two years. They *were all released at the same time.* Here was a singular coincidence between the detention of the British hostages, and the residence of St. Paul at Rome, as a prisoner, who, in all likelihood, was the very person through whom the British captive had embraced the Christian faith. But among other reasons for this supposition is the further curious fact, that at this same time were residing

[1] *Vide* Dr. Cave's Lives of the Apostles.

at Rome two illustrious British ladies, Claudia Rufina, the wife of Rufus Pudens, (celebrated by the poet Martial,[2] and of whom also St. Paul makes mention in the latter part of his Epistle to Timothy,) and Pomponia Græcina, wife of Aulus Plautius, the lieutenant of Claudius at the time of Boadicea's defeat. The latter of these two ladies, according to Tacitus,[3] "was accused of embracing the rites of a *foreign superstition*, and ever after led her life in deep sadness, and continual melancholy:" "for forty years she made use of no habit but what was mournful, and expressed no sentiment but what was sorrowful." "Nothing could alleviate her affliction." These being the well-known characteristics of a primitive Christian, there is no doubt that "the foreign superstition" of these two ladies was Christianity—and as Pomponia took extraordinary pains for introducing the Roman literature among her countrymen, there is great reason for believing that one so seriously impressed would be not less anxious to carry the Scriptures among them, and perhaps in persuading St. Paul to undertake the journey to her country.

Joining then these several facts and probabilities together, there is abundant testimony for asserting that St. Paul preached the Gospel in Britain, or if not, that the British Church was planted by some one of the apostles, though whether by Simon Zelotes, or St. Peter, or St. Paul, does not in the least affect the question of its apos-

2 "Claudia, Rufe, meo nubit peregrina Pudenti."
3 *Vide* Tacit. Annal. lib. xiii. c. 32.

tolical foundation. And if it be true that St. Paul arranged the government of the British Church, by the settlement of the three orders of the priesthood, and by ordaining to the Episcopate of Britain, Aristobulus, it follows as a matter of well-proved history, that the Church of Britain was fully settled and established before the Church of Rome; for Linus, as will be presently shown, being the first Bishop of Rome, was appointed by the joint authority of St. Paul and St. Peter, in the year of their martyrdom; and therefore certainly *after* St. Paul's return from Britain.

But the Romanists affirm that *St. Peter* was Bishop of Rome for twenty-five years: this is mere assumption. By St. Paul's account, while "the Gospel of the uncircumcision was committed to himself;" "the Gospel of the circumcision" was committed to St. Peter. Agreeable to this divine arrangement, and in accordance with the history of the New Testament, we find that his services were chiefly confined to Judea and Samaria. Antioch was his peculiar charge—there it was that St. Peter, "who seemed to be a pillar," though he had learnt by the vision of the vessel, that the partition wall between Jew and Gentile was broken down, yet on a sudden most unaccountably withdrew from all converse with the uncircumcised—for which he brought down on himself the severe animadversion of St. Paul, who "withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed," and publicly reproved him.

St. Luke, who wrote the Acts of the Apostles, relates

[4] Epist. to Galat. ii. 11

several transactions of St. Peter in Judea and Palestine (Acts x. xi. xii.) which happened at the very time when, according to the Romanists, he was sitting bishop at Rome, in the second year of Claudius. Now Luke himself was a witness of the things done at Rome—and yet nowhere connects St. Peter with any of them. It is therefore clear, that from the day of our Lord's ascension, to the time when he received the apostle's rebuke at Antioch, A.D. 50, Peter had not visited Rome; for if he had, surely St. Luke would not have omitted *so important an event* in the Acts of an Apostle, having therein recorded other journeyings of the same apostle of far less moment.

About the year 53, towards the end of Claudius' reign, St. Paul is thought to have addressed his Epistle to the Church at Rome, wherein he devotes almost one whole chapter to saluting different persons,—amongst whom it might reasonably have been expected St. Peter would have occupied the first place; and even supposing that St. Peter was at this time absent from Rome, preaching in some other parts of the west, yet we are not sure that St. Paul was acquainted with this fact—and if he was, it is still more strange that in so large an epistle he should neither directly nor indirectly have alluded to their bishop. Nay, St. Paul intimates his earnest desire to visit them, that "he might impart unto them some spiritual gift, to the end that they might be established in the faith;" for which there surely could have been no necessity, if St.

[5] Rom. i. 11.

Peter was already over them and with them. It would have been an undue interference with another man's bishopric, that St. Paul, the great advocate of Church order and discipline, would have been the last to countenance.

Three years after this, St. Paul is sent a prisoner to Rome. Does he go to sojourn with his brother apostle, St. Peter? No. He dwelt by himself in his own hired house—and no sooner was he arrived, than he called together the chief of the Jews, to whom he explained the doctrines of Christianity; which when they rejected, he tells them that "henceforth the salvation of God was sent unto the Gentiles," who *would* hear it, and to whom he should now address himself. This certainly implies, that though a few Gentiles might have been previously brought over to the Christian faith, yet that no such great numbers had been yet converted, as might have been expected under the powerful preaching of that apostle, who on the day of Pentecost, by one single sermon, added to the church three thousand persons.

Within the two years of St. Paul's abode at Rome, he wrote several Epistles, wherein not one word is said respecting St. Peter. In his Epistle to the Colossians, he tells them that of the Jews at Rome he had "no other fellow-workers unto the kingdom of God, which had been a comfort unto him," save only "Aristarchus, Marcus, and Jesus, who was called Justus;"[6] which evidently excludes St. Peter. In his second Epistle to Timothy, iv. 16,

[6] Coloss. iv. 10, 11.

which Baronius, the great advocate of St. Peter's founding the Roman See, confesses to have been written only a short time before his martyrdom, he tells him, that "at his first answer (at Rome) no man stood with him, but *all men* forsook" him; which would be incredible, had St. Peter, the boldest of all the apostles, been there. He further informs Timothy that "only Luke was with him," that Crescens was gone here, and Titus there, and Tychicus he had sent to Ephesus. It is incredible that if Peter was at this time at Rome, he should not have mentioned it; and still more so, that if he had left it, he should not have noticed his departure, when he records the movements of other persons, so very much inferior to him. One only explanation can be given for all his silence—that St. Peter as yet had not been at Rome; and therefore the assertion of Baronius, on the mere authority of Jerome, of his having filled the see of Rome for twenty-five years, cannot possibly be true. If St. Peter was ever at Rome at all (and we do not deny its probability), it must have been, as Origen declares, towards the close of his life (ἐν τέλει), and at the latter end of Nero's reign; and no doubt, during his sojourn in the imperial city, he zealously preached the Gospel to its wicked inhabitants; and on this account he is spoken of by some ancient writers, as *partaking with St. Paul* (who returned to Rome about the eighth or ninth year of Nero's reign) in the honour of founding the Church of Rome, and especially as at last he sealed with his blood his testimony to the Gospel, in con-

junction with his fellow apostle and martyr, St. Paul, about the year 68-9.[7]

But, after all, granting, for argument's sake, that St. Peter was both founder and Bishop of Rome, what then? How does the admission affect the question of the supremacy of the bishop of that Church? The term is nowhere even *hinted at* in the New Testament. From the time when Christ made choice of his apostles, to the day when he washed their feet, and blessed the bread and the cup, and distributed the Eucharistic elements without distinction among all his disciples—we can trace neither in act nor expression of the One only Supreme Spiritual Head the slightest allusion to this assumed supremacy. On the contrary, our Saviour, in the most marked manner (witness his answer to the mother of Zebedee's children), reprobated such a notion of superiority. It is moreover distinctly stated in the New Testament history, that *all* the Churches planted by the apostles were not only independent, but equal in rank and authority. Even Jerusalem, the mother of all Churches, with St. James, the first of all bishops, never assumed any jurisdiction over other Churches; which she might have done with some show of reason, considering not only her priority of foundation, but that to

7 The story of St. Peter encountering Simon Magus at Rome, who, as asserted by Justin Martyr, had a temple and statue there, with the inscription "Simoni Deo Sancto"—of his baffling the sorcerer in the instance of raising a young man to life, as related by Hegesippus—and of the vain and fatal attempt by the same Simon of flying to heaven, as gravely related by Sulpicius—partakes so much of the fabulous character of monkish invention as to merit no serious attention and therefore could not have been the reason that induced the emperor to crucify the apostle.

her arbitration and counsel the Churches of Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia, did once appeal, at the time they were so troubled by the Judaizing Christians.

But the Church of Jerusalem never set up any such pretension,—nor was it for the space of 500[8] years, that anything was heard of this arrogant claim to be the mother and mistress of all Churches, as now made an article of faith by the Romish Church. It is true, according to Tertullian, that the title of "Papa Benedictus" was in use in his time, and that some Bishop of Rome adopted the names of Pontifex Maximus and Episcopus Episcoporum; yet it is well known to the readers of ecclesiastical history, that the former title was given to all bishops in general, and that even the ordinary bishops were called "Summi Pontifices," as has been abundantly proved by a very acute writer.[9]

In the two first centuries we can find no vestige of an *universal* bishop;—Victor, it is true, towards the close of the second century, began to arrogate to himself, according to Eusebius, some superiority, but the churches of Asia, Ephesus, and France, rebuked the Roman Pontiff, and dissented from him.

In the fifth century, when the pride and luxury of the Roman bishops had risen to an extraordinary height, Leo I. was the first to call the seat of St. Peter "*universal*." But notwithstanding the claim was put forth, it does not appear to have been admitted; for we find even Augustine,

8 Tempore Leo. I. 9 Bingham's Antiq. lib ii. c. 2.

Bishop of Hippo, in this century, when writing to Boniface, Bishop of Rome, using these remarkable words: "The *pastoral care is common to all who hold the office of bishop*, although you are placed on a higher pinnacle of the watchtower."[1]

But the Romanists care little for the authority of ancient history, when it happens to be against them—and gladly take refuge in a solitary text of Scripture, from whence they direct the thunders of the Vatican. We will meet them on their own ground, and will try their pretension by the test of Scripture. It is well known that the text on which they build their claim of supremacy is that expression of our Saviour in the Gospel of St. Matthew, xvi. 18: "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church." We Protestants gladly accept the divine declaration, but deny the Romish inference.

The Saviour had just asked *all* his disciples, "Whom say *ye* that I am? And Simon Peter answered and said, Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God. And Jesus answered and said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-jona: for flesh and blood hath not revealed *it* unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven." And then He adds as follows: "And I say also unto thee, That thou art Peter (σὺ εἶ Πέτρος), and upon this rock (ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ) I will build my church." Now to what does this rock refer? Not surely to *Peter*, but to "*it*"—

[1] Aug. Cont. Epist. Pelag. *Vide* also a remarkable passage from one of Pope Gregory's Epistles, in the Appendix, No. VII.

that *confession*[2] which St. Peter had just made of the Saviour being *the* Christ, the Son of the living God.

On this very confession the Christian Church is built—*on this confession* the first converts were baptized—*on this confession* the Church of Ephesus was founded. Ye "are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone."[3]

Thus it is most clear that the Church was founded on the prophets and apostles, not on St. Peter alone. St. Peter was a part of this foundation, but not the whole and sole foundation. Christ, it must be remarked, addressed His question to *all* the apostles: "Whom say ye that I am?" St. Peter, always the most forward of them, took upon himself to answer in the name of all. The commission of "the keys" was addressed to him, not exclusively, but conjointly with his fellow-apostles. "I *will* give unto you the keys of the kingdom of heaven." Christ does not say, "I *now* give thee," but "I *will* give;" and what His future intention was is explained by what He afterwards commissioned them to do—to preach the *doctrine of Christ's Messiahship* (the very doctrine that Peter had confessed), and on that doctrine to admit converts into the Church by Baptism. And when Christ gave this final commission, to whom did He give it? To St. Peter alone?

2 By the XV. Resolution of the Counsel of Troselium, held A.D. 909, this interpretation of the passage is expressly given.—*Vid.* Spanheim's Eccl. Annals, cent. x. c. 5.

3 Ephes. ii. 20.

No, to all—to all equally—without the slightest reference to pre-eminence in the order or degree of any one of them.

But in order to understand this remarkable passage, it must be carefully remarked, that in the terms of this address of our Saviour to Peter, He uses two words, which, in the Greek, are "Πέτρος," and "Πέτρα," Petrus *a stone*, and Petra, *a rock*. "Thou art Petrus" (Peter, a Stone), "and on this Petra" (a Rock) "I will build my Church."

"If Christ had meant," well remarks the Bishop of St. David's, "that St. Peter should be *the Rock* on which He would build His Church, the same term might have been repeated: thou art *Petrus*, and on this *Petrus* I will build my Church; but the word is changed; our Saviour does not say, on this Petrus I will build my Church, but on this Petra: and, therefore, we may conclude that the first term was not meant to convey the same meaning as the second. It has a relative meaning, no doubt."[4] And this distinction in the terms used the Romanists know full well—though they have not the ingenuousness to confess it, and yield the argument—but endeavour to conceal the plain distinction of the original terms, by frequently translating the passage as follows:—"Thou art (Petrus) '*a rock*'—and on this rock I will build my Church,"—a false translation, as must be evident to the youngest schoolboy.

[4] Bp. of St. David's First Tract, p. 14.

That St. Peter, therefore, was not *the rock* of the Church, is most clear. Had he been so, he must have robbed the Saviour of that honour which St. Paul gives Him, when he declares that "*other foundation* can no man lay, than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ,"[5] who is emphatically pronounced by the same apostle to be our "Spiritual Rock" (πνευματικὴ Πέτρα.). 1 Cor. x. 4.

But let us suppose for a moment that these words of Christ do contain the meaning attributed to them by the Romanists; yet who will say that *that* meaning is not conveyed in a most obscure and doubtful manner; and that, if the Church of Rome does really possess those superhuman powers which she arrogates to herself, the Founder of Christianity has involved an essential truth in the greatest and most unnecessary obscurity? And if so, then surely St. Peter, clothed as he was with a Spirit of infallibility, would, in his Epistles, or in his sermons to his new converts, as recorded in the Acts, have cleared up every difficulty, and have explained the secret sense of Christ's commission to him, for the satisfaction of his successors, who were not named in the commission. But no! not one word does he write or preach in reference to his own supremacy, or his Church's infallibility; and not one hint does he most unkindly give to his successors, that his mantle of infallibility and supremacy should fall also on their shoulders.

St. Peter, however, knew his own position in the

[5] 1 Cor. iii. 11.

Church better than his pretended successors have since done—he assumed no pre-eminence—he claimed no share whatever in the original foundation of the Church of Rome—that honour can belong only to St. Paul, who certainly was the first apostle that visited the Roman Church, as his own words seem to imply: "Yea, so have I strived to preach the Gospel, not where Christ was named, lest I should build *upon another man's foundation.*"[6] No mention whatever is made in the Acts of the Apostles, nor in the Epistles of St. Peter, of his *ever* having been at Rome—and in all probability, as has been already shown, if he ever visited that city, it was not long before his martyrdom—and there is no sufficient authority for supposing that he was at any time bishop of that see, or any further connected with it, than as acting conjointly with St. Paul in settling sundry matters there, and appointing Linus as the first bishop over it. Irenæus, the disciple of Polycarp, who was a contemporary of the apostles, and therefore of all men the most likely to know, affirms that such was the fact. And be it specially remarked, that if the bishops of Rome were superior to *all other* bishops, then it follows that this Linus and his successors, Anacletus and Clemens, were all superior to Christ's beloved apostle St. John himself, for *they all succeeded to the see of Rome during that apostle's lifetime!*—a subordination that Romanists themselves will scarcely venture to maintain.

[6] Rom. xv. 20.

It might easily be shown from many of the early Fathers, that for the first four centuries all Churches enjoyed an equal share of authority, and that no claim to unlimited supremacy was ever put forth by the bishops of Rome. It will be sufficient for our present purpose to call to our aid the authority of two of the Fathers only, taken from the second and third centuries. Thus, Tertullian assures us that by whatever name the bishops of Rome or elsewhere chose to be designated, all the apostolic Churches of his time were independent of each other, and equal in rank and authority. He professes, it is true, a peculiar love and veneration for the Church of Rome: not, however, because it was founded by St. Peter, but because it was the scene of St. Paul's martyrdom and St. John's persecution.[7] From a passage in his Tract de Pudicitiâ, it appears that the words of our Saviour to Peter, "On this rock I will build my church," and "I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven," were not supposed *at that time* to refer exclusively to the Church of Rome, but generally to *all* the Churches of which St. Peter was the founder—Antioch and others.

Cyprian also, in the third century, asserts the perfect equality of all bishops, and uses the following remarkable expressions:—"Neither hath any one of our bishops constituted himself Episcopus Episcoporum, nor *driven his*

7 Vid. Eccl. Hist. of Second and Third Cent. By the Bishop of Bristol, c. iv. p. 236.

colleagues to the necessity of obedience through servile fear."[8]

The same Father also elsewhere says, that "the corps of bishops formed one body, united by mutual concord and unity, that if any of the body taught heresy, and began to lay waste and scatter the flock of Christ, the rest immediately came to its rescue. For although there were many pastors, they fed but one flock, and every one was bound to take care of the sheep of Christ, which he had purchased with his blood."[9] Thus it appears that a perfect equality was maintained among all bishops during the purest times of Christianity; and that until pride and luxury crept into the Church, and the imperial power of Rome began to decline, and the Byzantine empire, exciting jealousies between rival cities and rival patriarchs, brought about the great Western schism, scarcely was the notion of the Bishop of Rome's supremacy even whispered,—or if it was, it was immediately met with the indignant reproof of other independent Churches. With all this mass of evidence then against them—with history and the Scriptures directly opposed to them, in letter and in spirit—what shall we say to a claim that rests on such hollow foundation? What shall we think of a "religion that depends wholly upon nice and poore uncertainties, and unprovable supposals?" "Oh, the lamentable hazard of so many millions of poore soules that stand upon these slipperie termes, whereof if any be probable, some are

[8] Vid. as quoted by Bishop of Bristol, c. iv. p. 239. [9] Cypr. Ep. 68.

impossible ! Oh, miserable grounds of Popish faith, whereof the best can have but this praise, that *perhaps* it may be true."[1]

Whenever, therefore, my protestant countrymen, you hear of the *novelty* of your religion, remember that it is just as new as the Bible itself; whenever you hear of the *antiquity* of Popery, recollect that it had no existence for several centuries after *your* Church was established. "Look unto the rock whence ye are hewn,"—look unto St. Paul, "not a whit behind the very chiefest of the apostles," by whom "rooted and grounded in the faith," "ye are built up a spiritual House, to offer up *spiritual sacrifices*, acceptable to God, by Jesus Christ." And as often as you shall hear the repeated tale of St. Peter and his primacy, you have only to recal to mind how utterly unsupported it is by either Scripture, history, or reason,—and should you require to be further confirmed in your reprobation of its untruth, remember the tyrannous doctrines and conduct of Popes which have originated in this empty fiction,—and compare the government of the pretended successors of St. Peter with that model of a Christian bishop which St. Peter has himself left us, in his 1 Epist. v. 2, 3: "Feed the flock of God which is among you, taking the oversight thereof, not by constraint but willingly; not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind; *neither as being lords over God's heritage*, but being ensamples to the flock."

[1] Bishop Hall's Dissuasive from Popery.

The following pages will show how grievously the Church of Rome has departed from this apostolic rule; and in her arrogant pretension to "lord it over that part of God's heritage" established in these realms, how grossly she has usurped a power that never belonged to her—exhibiting in every instance of encroachment and usurpation the restlessness of that troubled Atlantic, "whose waters cast up mire and dirt."

CHAPTER III.

"If antiquity must evidence the truth of our religion, we are safe and secure that we have right on our side."

Hascard's Discourse about the Charge of Novelty.

HAVING established the *ancient locality* of the British Church, and shown, on the testimony of the Fathers and other old writers, that it was with the greatest probability planted here by some one of the apostles at least, if not by St. Paul himself, we will proceed to prove, that as the British Church was apostolical in her foundation, so also she continued for 1200 years to be independent of all foreign jurisdiction; owing allegiance to no other Church, but resisting continually every encroachment on her rights and liberty. It could scarcely be expected that a people so savage as the Britons, so devoted to their superstitions, and so oppressed by their fierce invaders, could speedily be converted to the Christian faith. The branch, therefore, of the spiritual vine so early planted in the soil of Britain, was, from the very nature of things, slow in its growth, and during the first century had made but little progress. By the middle of the following century, how-

ever, she had "sent out her boughs unto the sea, and her branches unto the river;" for it appears that, by that time, a vast number of the inhabitants, of all ranks, had abandoned idolatry, and had embraced Christianity. But an event of the highest moment contributed materially to forward the progress of the true faith at that period. About the year 167[1] we find the first British king not only professing the Christian religion, but becoming "a nursing father" to the infant Church. This illustrious prince was Lucius, Son of Coilus, who, in his zeal for the entire conversion of his subjects, sent two of his most learned men to Rome, Elvanus and Medvinus, for the purpose of consulting Eleutherius, the then Bishop of Rome, as to what measures he should adopt for that purpose. Eleutherius received the messengers gladly, instructed them more perfectly in the Christian faith, consecrated them Bishops, and sent them back together with two ambassadors of his own, Faganus and Dunianus, to king Lucius, with a present of "bothe the Ould and Newe Testaments,"[2] and a letter to that monarch, containing these remarkable words:—"You have received in the kingdom of Britain, by God's mercy, both the law and faith of Christ. You have both the Old and New Testament. Out of the same, through God's grace, by the advice of of your realme take a law, and by the same, through God's

1 Bede says A.D. 156. According to Usher, p. 20, the date is fixed by some even as early as A.D. 137.

2 Sir W. Dethicke—vid. Collect. of Curious Disc. vol. ii. p. 165.

sufferance, *rule you your kingdom of Britain*, for in that kingdom *you are God's vicar.*"[3]

In this remarkable and valuable document we have four things most distinctly admitted by a Bishop of Rome—the existence and nationality of the British Church—her right to administer her own affairs—her independence of the Roman see—and the supremacy of the King of England over all persons, and in all things, ecclesiastical as well as civil, within all his dominions. Now this is surely a most important admission, and when coupled with the fact that Christianity was thus in Britain publicly professed by the ruling power 146 years[4] before it was so acknowledged at Rome, it places at an immeasurable distance the Pope's presumed right to supreme authority over the Church and kingdom of England.

Lucius was worthy of his crown. In the full spirit of independence he commenced his holy undertaking.

He converted the three Pagan Arch-Flamins and twenty- 168.
eight Flamins into so many archbishops and bishops.[5] The archbishops were of London, York, and Caer-leon in Wales. The idol temples were destroyed—churches were

3 Prideaux's Introduct. to Hist.

4 Constantine did not embrace Christianity till A.D. 313.

5 Mr. Agarde, A.D. 1604, quotes from "a large booke of St. Augustine's of Canterbury," written about the year 1406, as follows:—"Lucius, primus rex Christianus regni istius, sub anno Dom. 167, qui fuit annus 438 ante adventum Augustini. Qui Lucius divisit regnum in tres Archiepiscopatus, scilicet, London, Ebor, et Civitatem Legionum, id est, Westcestre."—*Collect of Curious Disc.* vol. ii. p. 160.

Agarde asserts also, that with this account agree an ancient Register of Elye, an old Catalogue of the Archbishops of York, and an old Register of Glastonbury. *Pollidore Virgil.*

erected in several parts of the island, and various privileges and estates were granted for their support and honour.[6]

208. On the death of Lucius, A.D. 208, Severus, the Roman, succeeded to the British crown; and there is abundant proof that, through the patronage of princes, especially of Coill, whose daughter Helena married Constantius Chlorus, Christianity made so great progress in the island, as to call forth the observation of Origen, that "the divine goodness of our God and Saviour *is equally* diffused amongst the *Britons*, the Africans, and other nations of the world."[7]

330. The reign of Diocletian was unfortunately a check to this growing prosperity of the Church; for the persecution that commenced under him in Nicomedia, on as vain a pretext as that of Nero,[8] exceeded all that had gone before it. Its rage was directed against the Christian temples, the Bible, and persons of every age, sex, and rank. It vented its fury over every part of the Roman empire, and extended itself at last to Britain, where the number who were cruelly put to torture and death affords no insignificant proof of the progress that Christianity had made there by that time. St. Alban, at Verulam, was the proto-

Sir Wm. Dethicke confirms this account of Lucius.

Sir H. Saville varies a little in the date. He says, in his Fasti, that "about this time (A.D. 173) Lucius, king of the Britons, at the instance of Eleutherius the Pope, together with the whole nation of the Britons, received the Christian Faith."

6 Prideaux's Introduct. to Hist.

7 Orig. Hom. vi.

8 The burning of his palace at Nicomedia.

martyr of Britain; and, among other victims, were Julius, of Caer-leon; Aaron, of Exeter; and Angulius, Bishop of London.

After ten years' duration, this persecution ceased, under the reign of Constantius Chlorus, and the British Christians came forth from the caves and woods where they had concealed themselves, and rebuilt their churches, and renewed the rites of Christian worship, unmolested;[9] so that under the special protection of Constantine, the successor of Chlorus, and who was supposed to have been born in Britain, the Church flourished beyond all former times, and a vast number of additional churches were erected.

The importance to which the Church had arrived at the 314
early part of the fourth century, is demonstrated by the fact that some of her bishops were present at the council held at Arles, in 314; again, at the council of Nice, in 326; at Sardica, in 347; and at Ariminum, in 359. And it is a remarkable fact, connected with the former council, which, as bearing on the question of Rome's supremacy, must never be lost sight of by the Protestant Church of England, that the decrees of that council, where the British Church was represented by three of her bishops, were sent by them to the bishop of Rome, to be *promulgated*, and not, as the Romanists pretend, to be *confirmed*. In their letter to the Bishop of Rome, they give him none of those pompous titles which the Popes have since assumed, but simply call him their "dear brother;" they say they were

[9] Camden's Brit.

all knit together in one common bond of charity and unity—that they were met at Arles, in *obedience to their most pious emperor*[1]—that they should have been glad of *their brother*, the *Bishop of Rome's company*—but as that could not be, they had sent him an abstract of their canons, that he *might publish it throughout all his diocese*.[2] Such were the sentiments expressed by this important council—sentiments worthy of the purity and independence of the British Church, and such as strike down all the arrogant claims of the Roman see to any control over her at that time.

We have further testimony to the growth and purity of the British Church, furnished us by the writings of some of the Fathers in this century. Thus St. Chrysostom tells us, that "the British isles, which are beyond this sea (the Mediterranean), and are situated in the midst of the ocean, felt the force of the word, for even there churches are built and altars erected: of that word, I say, which is now in the hearts, and on the lips of all men."[3] Jerome, writing to Paulinus, says, "The court of heaven is now as
358. open in Britain as in Jerusalem."[4] And St. Hilary, Bishop of Poictiers, being banished into Phrygia by Con-

[1] Constantine seems to have formed a very correct notion of the relative authority of himself and the bishops in all matters connected with the internal and external government of the Church.—"You," said he, in addressing the bishops, "you are bishops in those matters transacted within the Church; but in them done without (the Church), *I am a bishop constituted by God.*" *Eusebius' Life of Const.* p. 618.

[2] Guthrie's Hist. of Engl. vol. i. p. 75.

[3] Chrys. in Apol.

[4] Hieron. in Paulin.

stantius, published his work de Synodis, wherein, after sending greeting to the British in common with all other Christian bishops, "he laments that his banishment debarred him from the satisfaction of hearing from them, as he had been accustomed; but, though he was labouring under that inconvenience, he had the *highest gratification* in *learning that the British were remarkable* for *their strict adherence* to the *genuine doctrines* of Christianity, and that *they were not yet infected with any of those heresies* (Arian) which distracted the peace of other kingdoms."

In the third year of Theodosius the Great, at the council 381.
assembled at Constantinople, by order of that emperor, and not by the Bishop of Rome, as asserted by Baronius, for the principal purpose of defining the limits of bishoprics, it was ordered that the several provincial bishops should have their ancient privileges of independence confirmed to them; which confirmation was grounded on the sixth canon of the council of Nice. In that canon it is enjoined, that "in the provinces *everywhere*, none of the most religious bishops shall invade another province, which has not been for many years before, and from the beginning, under *his*, or his predecessor's hand." Now in applying the acts of this Trullan[5] council to the state of the British Church at this time, we are assisted by a very ancient Greek MS. in the Bodleian Library, purporting to be "the Order of the Presidency of the most Holy Patriarchs" on

5 "Trullan," from Trullus, a part of the palace at Constantinople, where the council assembled.

this occasion, wherein neither England, Scotland, nor Ireland, are reckoned dependents on the Roman patriarchate.[6] So that we have very satisfactory evidence of the independence of the British Church down to the conclusion of the fourth century.

148. The history of the Church is involved in some obscurity, from the death of Constantine to the final abandonment of Britain by the Romans in 448. All that is distinctly known of it is, that she was outwardly heavily afflicted by the sanguinary incursions of the Picts and the Scots, and inwardly harassed by the Pelagian heresy, which was unfortunately introduced into Britain by Agricola, son of Severianus, a Gallic Bishop. The author of this heresy was Pelagius, by birth a Briton, and usually called Morgan, who, during a residence at Rome, by associating with Rufinus, a man deeply imbued with the principles of Origen, began to doubt the doctrine of original sin. Pelagianism soon spread itself through the island. The leading divines, yet sound in the faith, for some time resisted the pernicious doctrine, but at length, despairing of their own efforts, they addressed themselves to the Bishops of Brittany. The request was answered in the persons of Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus, Bishop of Troyes, who, by public preaching, and the arguments they advanced before a council held at Verulam, succeeded in suppressing the heresy for a time; but it again broke out with greater violence after their departure,

[6] Vid. Dr. Beveridge's notes on the sixth Can. Council. Trullan. p. 135.

and Germanus was once more induced, in association with Severus, Bishop of Treves, to revisit Britain, when by the means that had been before so successful, they extirpated Pelagianism, and took effectual steps for securing their triumph, by causing schools to be erected; one at Llandaff, under Dubricius; and another at Lantuit, in Glamorganshire, under Illutus, where most of the English nobility were afterwards educated. The celebrated monastery at Bangor was also at the same time founded, through the exertions of Germanus. But these measures were only palliatives; for whilst the Church was rescued from the plague of heresy, she had more formidable enemies to contend with. No longer protected by the powerful countenance of the Roman emperors, she was grievously oppressed by the frequent incursions of those predatory tribes who occupied the northern frontier of Britain. In this extremity, the South Britons sent a letter to Rome, inscribed "The Groans of the Britons." But the Romans had enough on their hands at this juncture, in defending themselves against Attila and his barbarian followers; their petition therefore was unnoticed.

In this extremity of desertion on one side, and suffering on the other, at the suggestion of Vortigern, prince of Damnonium, the Britons, in an evil hour, sent deputies to the Saxons, who were, of all the German tribes, the most warlike, as well as the most savage, requesting their assistance. The Saxons readily acceded to their request; 429.
and, under their leaders Hengist and Horsa, landed in

Britain, and soon expelled the Scots and Picts. This first success speedily brought over more of their adventurous countrymen, who became so charmed with the fertility of the soil, and the mildness of the climate, that they soon assumed the attitude of conquerors—joined the Picts and Scots against the poor Britons, and, by force of arms, maintained their possession of the country. Britain, from east to west, became involved in rapine and slaughter—her cruel masters turned their ruthless hands against every thing and person that had a religious character—destroyed every church they could reach, and slew the Christians at the very altars;—the bishops and clergy were hunted down like wild beasts, and either perished miserably, or sought refuge in expatriation.

The plunder that fell into the hands of these Saxon spoilers attracted the cupidity of other piratical tribes. The Jutæ, from the Cimbric Chersonese, and the Angles, from Sleswick, rushed to the quarry, and with murderous rapidity, carried fire and sword to every quarter of the island. The Britons long maintained the unequal strife; but after a struggle of 150 years, were compelled to receive the yoke of their heartless and pagan conquerors. The whole of South Britain became established under the sway of seven Saxon kings, and was known by the name of the Heptarchy.

During these successive convulsions in Britain, it necessarily followed that Christianity found but little encouragement in the midst of such uncongenial elements.

The Saxons themselves were pagans, and it is not likely that the British clergy, during the desperate struggle, would dare to undertake the conversion of their masters. Indeed, according to Bede and Gildas, and other chroniclers of these sad times, it was not likely that the Saxons, on their part, would be more disposed to accept the Gospel from the hands of enemies they so much despised.

This deplorable indisposition on both sides to approximate might have long continued, had not the fortunate marriage of Ethelbert, king of Kent, with Bertha, daughter 570.
of Cherebert, or Caribert, king of Paris, paved the way for that monarch's conversion to the Christian faith. This Ethelbert, "under the designation of Bretwalda, enjoyed an admitted precedence over all the Anglo-Saxon potentates,"[7] and extended his kingdom to the Humber. Caribert would not consent to his daughter's marriage until the free exercise of her religion was guaranteed by the Saxon, and the attendance of a Christian bishop, Luidhard, permitted. On these conditions Bertha came to Canterbury, where a ruined British Church[8] was repaired, and devoted to her use. Here a Christian congregation, in the very head-quarters of Saxon dominion, assembled; and here the young queen acquired such an ascendency over Ethelbert, that he was easily reconciled to the efforts she made to draw over her adopted countrymen to the Christian faith, and was equally disposed to receive favourably a mission from Gregory the Great, then bishop of Rome,

[7] Soames's Angl. Sax. Ch. p. 23. [8] St. Martin.

who had for some time cherished the hope of converting the Anglo-Saxons to Christianity. This prelate, before he was advanced to the pontificate, had by chance observed in the Roman slave market some fair complexioned light-haired youths. Their fresh and beautiful countenances instantly attracted his notice. On inquiring whence they came, and who they were, he was informed they were Angles from Britain. "Ah!" replied Gregory, "they rather deserve the name of Angels." "From what province do they come?" He was told from Deira, a district of Northumbria. "Deira," he answered, "that is well—they are called to the mercy of God from his wrath (de irâ)." "But what is the name of the king of that province?" He was informed it was Alla, or Ælla——"Allelujah!" he exclaimed, "Allelujah must be sung in their country."

Influenced by these coincidences, Gregory resolved on undertaking a mission into Britain,—and would at once have proceeded on it, had he not been compelled to abandon the holy enterprise, from the unwillingness of the Romans to part with him. On his being raised to the pontificate, the noble resolution of converting the Saxons did not abandon him; for immediately after his elevation, he ordered a Gallic priest, by name Candidus, to buy some British youths, to be educated as missionaries for their native land.[9]

Gregory's ardent mind, however, could but ill brook the

[9] Greg. Epist. v. 10.

delay of educating missionaries for so pressing and darling an object. He resolved, therefore, on speedier measures —he looked about him for a man of zeal, talent, and resolution. Such an one he found, already formed to his hand, in Augustine, the prior of St. Martin. This enterprising ecclesiastic, having engaged in the same service a body of forty monks, directed his course towards Britain; but, on his way through Gaul, his heart failed him, and he would have relinquished the undertaking, had not the rebuke of Gregory compelled him to proceed.

The missionaries landed at Retesburgh, in the isle of 597
Thanet, and advanced to meet the king of Kent, in formal procession;—one monk carried on high a silver cross, another a picture of our Saviour, while the remainder chanted litanies as they came into the royal presence. Augustine explained the object of their mission; and however Ethelbert might have been favourably disposed towards Christianity, he dared not openly declare his sentiments; he therefore simply granted him permission to preach his doctrines throughout his kingdom. This permission was instantly acted on, and with such extraordinary success were their first labours crowned, that Augustine and his associates are reported to have baptized on one Christmas-day, in the river Swale, which he first consecrated, upwards of 10,000 Saxons,[1] besides women and children. The king himself soon after declared himself a convert, and was baptized; and one of the pagan

1 Bede relates this of Paulinus.

temples was converted into a church, and dedicated to St. Pancras.[2]

We have here chiefly been considering the successful mission of the Roman emissaries, and the happy combination of events that led to their favourable reception by the Saxons. It must not, however, be supposed, that while Augustine and his colleagues were occupied in evangelizing the Saxon portion of the community, the British Christians took no part in this Christian work. It is true that their Church was heavily oppressed—yet was it not destroyed—the flame of pure Christianity burnt in many an obscure corner of the island, and many a British preacher emerged from the deep glens and woods of the island, and, like St. John in the wilderness, with no better fare than locusts and wild honey, proclaimed the joyful tidings of the Gospel, in that dark day of misery and oppression. Among the most celebrated of these bold confessors were Kentigern, St. Asaph, and St. Columba, men who hazarded their lives in those perilous times; and through their means vast numbers of the Saxons abandoned their idolatrous worship, and embraced Christianity. So that the gross delusion which the Romanists would palm upon the world, that to Augustine and his associates belongs the entire glory of Britain's conversion, is not only absolutely false with regard to the Britons, but not true even with respect to the Saxons. This is a point that deserves well

2 It is not a little extraordinary that the *last* church in England that refused to throw aside the Romish usages was St. Pancras in London.

to be borne in mind, because it not only shows that the British Church existed as a distinct and independent Church, at the time of Augustine's arrival, but that she possessed sufficient strength and vitality to extend the curtains of her tent, even in the hour of her heaviest oppression;—and with all the influence that Augustine could command, by wealth, by power, and by intrigue, to establish a paramount authority over her, she yet maintained a dignified position, and from the mountains of Wales and Cornwall, the fens of Somersetshire, and the forests of Northumbria, "set up her banners for tokens" of uncompromising independence.

From the use that was made by Augustine of his intrusion into the territory of the British Church, commences a new and important era in her history, and will therefore form the subject of another chapter.

In concluding the present, it will be sufficient to observe, that thus far the proof is complete, that the British is an ancient apostolical Church, independent of all foreign jurisdiction, and totally distinct from that which Augustine planted among the Saxons. By a reference to dates also, it will appear that she was planted here at least 400 years before the Saxon invasion, and nearly 550 years before the arrival of St. Augustine,—that she was publicly recognised by the government of the country 146 years before the Church at Rome was,—and that from the first moment of her existence here, to the days of Pope Gregory the Great, the bishops of Rome neither claimed nor received her sub

mission. Popery, as a tyrannical power, urging its pretensions to supremacy or infallibility, was as yet unknown, and continued so till the pontificate of Boniface; so that, for the first six hundred years of the Christian era, in vain shall we look for any resemblance to that Church, which, in after ages, filled the earth with her sorceries, and "lorded it over Christ's heritage" as "universal bishop," and "as God."

Surely, "to know that the Church of Britain was coeval with the age of the Apostles, is to build our faith on grounds most solid and interesting. But to extend that proof to the individual labours of one of the Apostles, and to find ourselves indebted for the first knowledge of the greatest blessing ever conferred on mankind, to the personal zeal of the great Apostle of the Gentiles; and in this search after truth to find further, that the father of a British prince was instrumental in the first introduction of the Gospel into Britain—that it was publicly professed and protected by a British king, before the end of the second century—that a British king was the first Christian prince—that Christianity was established throughout the Roman empire by a native of Britain;"—"these considertions, while they greatly increase our interest in the belief and service of Christianity, and augment our responsibility, may justly lead us, as Protestants, to adopt the language of Moses, 'What nation is there so great, which hath God so nigh unto them, as the Lord our God is in all things that we call upon him for; and what nation is there so

great, that hath statutes and judgments so righteous,'—a religion so pure, a Church so apostolical, a polity so wise and equitable, and blessings so ample, so various, as God hath bestowed upon this our favoured country?'[3]

Let us see how far our forefathers valued and maintained these exalted privileges.

[3] Bishop of St. David's Tracts, p. 144.

CHAPTER IV.

"Oh that my grief were throughly weighed, and my calamity laid in the balances together! for now it would be heavier than the sand of the sea.—Job vi. 2, 3.

We are now approaching a most important epoch in the history of not only the British Church in particular, but of the Christian Church in general, when the Roman pontiffs began to unfurl the banner of universal dominion, and to set at nought even the power and rights of princes.

The mission of St. Augustine, by whatever motive undertaken, was the point of the Papal wedge, which, first insinuated into the body ecclesiastical of England by Gregory the Great, was by his successors driven deeper and deeper, until at length, by the means of Pope Innocent III., in the thirteenth century, it so effectually destroyed the independence of the British Church, as to lay her prostrate at the feet of her merciless task-master.

But before we proceed to the detail of this aggression, a brief account of the gradual growth of the usurping power of Rome will be necessary for the due development of its slow but baneful effects on the British Church.

It has already been shown that, as early as the second century, the title of "episcopus episcoporum," "bishop of bishops," was assumed by the Roman pontiff, but as no superior power accompanied the title, it was looked at as a harmless piece of vanity. In the following century, as the imperial city increased in luxury and splendour, a certain degree of pre-eminence was claimed by, and yielded to, the bishop of the first city in the world; yet this pre-eminence was denied by many, even by Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, as was unequivocally shown by his controversy with Stephen, respecting the baptism of heretics.[1]

But this pre-eminence, even by such as yielded it, was only allowed to be that of *order* and *association*, and not of *power* and *authority;* which was precisely the kind of superiority that Cyprian himself enjoyed over the African Churches.

This state, however, of doubtful acquiescence did not long continue; for before the conclusion of this century, the Roman Church began to show signs of serious change. Bishops now lorded it over the presbyters, and presbyters in their turn over the deacons; and the pontiffs assumed a degree of power and splendour that rather belonged to princes than priests. Constantine the Great, by birth a Briton, and the first Christian emperor, checked for a time this growing innovation, by giving a new form to Church government. He constituted himself the supreme head of the Church, in all matters connected with its external

1 Cyprian, Ep. 73.

government.[2] This assumption was readily acquiesced in by all the bishops, as the price of the emperor's protection. In process of time, he remodelled in other respects the ecclesiastical form of government;—he made the bishop of Constantinople equal in power to the three bishops of Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria. These four prelates were called Patriarchs, and to them the second in rank were the Exarchs, or inspectors of provinces. The Metropolitans followed the next in order, holding the government of one province; under whom were the Archbishops, who presided over certain districts. The Bishops were the lowest of this order, and included the Chorepiscopi, or bishops of country churches.

This equality in rank and power was intolerable to the proud prelate of Rome; dissatisfaction soon ripened into aversion, and, in spite of imperial edicts, and synodal remonstrances, he broke through all restraint, and resumed a greater degree of pre-eminence than ever over all the other patriarchs,—a position he found no difficulty in maintaining, by reason of his greater wealth, and more favourable situation.

Thus were already laid those steps by which the future bishops of Rome mounted to the summit of ecclesiastical despotism. The increasing pretensions of the Roman pontiffs were, however, in some degree checked by the rival ambition of the Byzantine patriarch, which terminated at last in the total separation of the Greek and Latin Churches.

2 Euseb. Life of Const. p. 569.

These divisions among the heads of the Church were very detrimental to religion, for they were accompanied with the increase of the grossest superstition among the people; so that, during the fourth and fifth centuries, in all countries connected with Rome, the most lamentable corruptions prevailed in the Church. The pagan rites became closely interwoven with the Christian—pious frauds were everywhere practised on the deluded multitude—the worship of relics, adoration of saints, prayers for the dead, pilgrimages, and other like extravagances, began to prevail —and the Church assumed a pompous and splendid ritual, differing in no respect from that of the heathen temples.[3]

In the fifth century there was no abatement of usurpation or pride on the part of the Roman pontiffs; and in the following it was no matter of surprise to see so ambitious a man as Gregory, under the mask of the greatest humility, maintaining a constant struggle for universal dominion. He seemed to be peculiarly jealous of the rival power of the patriarch of Constantinople, and it is not a little curious to observe his singular bearing towards him. One instance shall suffice, and let Protestants bear it in remembrance. The patriarchate of Constantinople was filled by John, surnamed the "Faster," a prelate held in high veneration on account of his austerities. He had not however, it appears, yet starved himself into a meek and humble spirit, for he assumed, under the sanction of the

3 Vid. Spanheim's Eccle. Annals, p. 356.

emperor, the lofty title of "Œcumenical Bishop." Gregory was highly offended at his presumption, and immediately styled himself "Servus Servorum Dei"—"The Servant of God's Servants." He reminded also the emperor Maurice of St. Peter's high prerogatives, "and yet," he added, "that pillar of our faith is *never called* 'Œcumenical Apostle.'" The Faster's assumption accordingly he represents as an insult to the priesthood, and a scandal to the Church.[4]

Gregory's pretended humility, however, appears to have been limited to the atmosphere of the East. In the West it had entirely evaporated; for we find him but in one case repudiating the title by which he was now acknowledged by some churches, of Universal Head of the Western Church.

His views with regard to Britain were certainly of an ambitious character. The success that had already attended Augustine's mission, excited in him an ardent hope of bringing the British Church under his jurisdiction. The cunning monk was well aware of his master's love of the marvellous; he therefore indulged him with a full account of the miracles he had wrought. Gregory implicitly believed his marvellous narrations, and, in return for his exertions, sent him a load of relics, vestments, and a few volumes of books. He shortly afterwards transmitted to him the pall,[5] and authorized him to select an archbishop

[4] Soames's Angl. Sax. Ch. p. 20.

[5] The pall, or pallium, was a part of the archbishop's dress, made of the

for the see of York, and to have jurisdiction over him and all other bishops. Augustine speedily responded to the wishes of Gregory, and began seriously to apply himself to the reduction of the whole British Church to the power of Rome. But he had strangely miscalculated the pliancy of the British character, and was totally ignorant of the state of religion among that people. Our Church historian, Fuller, assures us that Augustine on his arrival, "found here a plain religion (simplicity is the badge of antiquity), practised by the Britons; living, some of them, in the contempt, and many more in the ignorance, of worldly vanities. He brought in a religion, spun with a coarser thread, though guarded with a finer trimming; made luscious to the senses with pleasing ceremonies, so that many who could not judge of the goodness were courted with the gaudiness thereof." And again, the same author testifies, that the poor "Christian bishops, living peaceably at home, there enjoyed God, the Gospell, and their mountains; little skilful in, and lesse caring for, the ceremonies *à la mode*, brought over by Augustine; and, indeed, their poverty could not go to the cost of Augustine's silver crosse, which made them worship the God of their fathers, after their own homely but hearty fashion; not willing to disturb Augustine and his followers in their *new rites*, but that he had a mind to dis-

fleece of white lambs, consecrated to and offered at the shrine of St. Agnes, by the Pope. Before receiving it, the archbishop could not call a council, bless the chrism, ordain a priest, &c. On its receipt he was obliged to swear fealty to the Roman pontiff.

quiet them in *their old service*, as in the sequele of the history will appear."[6]

What a beautiful picture has the historian here drawn of the simple, unpretending, and tolerant religion of our ancient Church! How finely contrasted with the ostentatious and heartless pageantry of those "new rites" which were now to be forced upon her!

It was Augustine's policy to undermine this simplicity of religious worship among the Britons, and to work upon the imaginations of the wonder-loving Saxons, by the means of that gaudy ritual, and those enticing doctrines, which he had imported from Italy. The worship of images, the flames of purgatory, the efficacy of good works towards the attainment of salvation, the virtue of relics, were all his ready instruments. The "institution of the canon of the mass" also, which had been invented by Gregory, was another useful auxiliary. The wily monk, moreover, assumed such austerity of manner, and sanctity of deportment, that he effectually secured the veneration of the deluded multitude, and by his pretended miracles, which no juggler of the present day could surpass, very easily imposed on their credulity. Gregory was transported with joy, on hearing the continued prosperity of the mission, and in a letter to Ethelbert, exhorted him to assist Augustine in the good work by all the expedients of exhortation, *terror*, and *correction*

Thus early did the Church of Rome exhibit her tender

[6] Fuller's Ch. Hist. b. ii. p. 57.

mercies of "*terror* and *correction*" towards the inhabitants of Britain! It was no matter of wonder, therefore, that although during the lifetime of Ethelbert, Christianity nominally prevailed among a large body of his Saxon subjects, yet, on his death, nearly the whole of them relapsed into idolatry, from which they were only brought back again to the Christian faith by the unwarrantable fraud of Augustine's successor.

Augustine's views were chiefly directed to the consolidation of his own authority, and the aggrandizement of that of Gregory. But, notwithstanding all his efforts to bow the necks of the British Christians to the power of Rome, the Britons, who, amidst all their wrongs and sufferings, had rigidly adhered to the rules and customs they had received from their forefathers, showed no disposition to surrender their independence to the lordly prelate. So far from acknowledging the Pope's authority over them, it was the first time they had even heard that he claimed any; and therefore they were now resolved to maintain their liberty. This resolution Augustine determined to counteract; and though he did not pretend to have received any authority from the Pope for his acts, he resolved, if possible, to reduce them to submission.

For this purpose he convened a synod of British bishops, 602.
proposed to them a scheme for conforming to the Church of Rome, and, in order to make sure of his aim, was not sparing of promises or threats. On the testimony, how-

ever, of the Venerable Bede,[7] whose authority as a Saxon cannot be questioned on this point, the *demands of Augustine were at once rejected, and all foreign jurisdiction over their Church was repelled by the unanimous voice of the assembled bishops.*

Saxon oppression and tyranny had driven the prelacy of the British Church into Cornwall, Wales, and other mountainous districts of the island. There, in greater security, they directed their ecclesiastical affairs, educated their ministers, and watched with painful solicitude the progress of the Popish missionaries. The metropolitan church, for greater security, had already been removed from Caerleon to Llandaff, and thence to Mynyw, afterwards called St. David's, from the holy and venerable man who first presided over it.

To the Cambrian confines, therefore, Augustine now directed his steps, and convened a second synod, at a place called Augustine's Ac, or Oak, in Worcestershire, at which were present seven British bishops, and Dinoth, the learned and spirited abbot of Bangor.

These pious representatives of the ancient Church consulted, on their way to the conference, a hermit renowned for his piety and wisdom. "If," said the recluse, "Augustine be a man of God, take his advice." The bishops stated the difficulty of ascertaining his character. The hermit denied the difficulty, and directed them to this easy test—"Contrive to be the last at the conference,—If

[7] Bedæ Eccl. Hist. lib. ii. c. 2. Edit. Cant. fol.

Augustine shall rise at your approach, be sure he is a true servant of the humble-minded Jesus,—if he shall receive you sitting, he is not a man of God: maintain your ancient usages." This was an unfortunate test for the haughty monk, whose pride had but just been gratified by the popular admiration that had followed a successful juggle in restoring a blind man to sight. The Britons advanced,—their dignified and venerable appearance claimed the respect of the assembled multitude. Augustine condescended not to rise from his chair! but, with a haughty look and a repulsive tone, he called upon them to yield—"I demand of you three things,—that you keep Easter as we do—that you baptize according to the Roman ritual—and that you unite with us in preaching to the Angles."

Dinoth, the intrepid Dinoth, unmoved by the haughty missionary, arose, and made him the following reply:—

"Be it known, and without doubt, unto you, that we all are, and every one of us, obedient subjects to the Church of God, and to the Pope of Rome, and to every godly Christian, to love every one in his degree in perfect charity, and to help every one of them, by word and deed, to be the children of God: and other obedience than this I do not know to be due to him whom you name to be Pope, nor to be the Father of Fathers, to be claimed and to be demanded; and this obedience we are ready to give, and to pay to him, and to every Christian continually. *Besides, we are under the government of the bishop of*

Kaer-leon-upon-Uske, who is to oversee under God over us; to cause us to keep the way spiritual."[8]

A protest[9] so bold, direct, and uncompromising, but little suited the fiery temper of Augustine, who, choking with rage, and despairing of success, cried out, "Since, then, you refuse peace from your brethren, you shall have war from your enemies." These words were but too predictive of impending slaughter; for Augustine, after so signal a failure in his attempt to draw over the British bishops, at once addressed himself to the Saxons, and, by working upon their superstitious attachment to himself and the Roman see, he prevailed upon them to attempt the subjection of the British Church. In Ethelfrid, king of Northumbria, he found a willing instrument for his bloody purpose, who, at his instigation, attacked the Britons at Caer-leon (Chester). On the field of battle were 2000 of the British clergy, totally unarmed, for the purpose of encouraging, by their prayers and exhortations, the spirits of their brave defenders.[1] Ethelfrid, on observing so strange a sight, fearing no doubt the efficacy of this unusual mode of encouragement, told his soldiers, that whilst

[8] Copied from an ancient British MS. by Sir H. Spelman. Vide Append. No. VIII.

[9] "See we here," says Fuller, in remarking on this passage, "the pedigree of the British Church, which the shorter the ancienter, the fewer steps it had the higher it reached. They were subject in spiritual matters to the bishop of Caer-leon, and above him unto God, without any subordination to the Pope, so that it was more than a presumption that religion came into Britain, not by the *semicircle of Rome*, but in a *direct line* from the Asiatic Churches."—Church Hist. b. ii. p. 61.

[1] Bedæ Hist. Eccl. Angl. lib. i. c. 27.

"those men fought with *prayers*, they fought with the *sword*;" and therefore he bid them fall on, which they did, and killed all those priests in a field near Chester.[2]

Whether or not Augustine was the instigator of this cold-blooded murder of helpless priests, he certainly bore the blame of it, and entailed on himself and the Romish party the execration of every Briton. Had he possessed more humility, and greater suavity of disposition, his name might have gone down to posterity with honour; but whatever share of glory might be his due for evangelizing the Saxons, the British Church could only regard him with fear and hate; and we, on considering the circumstances of the times, and looking back at his character through the vista of 1200 years, while we admit that some credit is due to him for his talents and zeal, and unwearied labour in converting the Saxons, yet cannot acquit him of that haughty intolerance, and reckless persecution, with which he vainly attempted to annihilate the British Christians.—"We commend his paines, condemne his pride, allow his life, approve his learning, admire his miracles (?), admit the foundation of his doctrines—*Jesus Christ*—but refuse the *hay and stubble* he built thereupon."[3]

Disappointment and vexation at his failure in securing 605
the submission of the British, seem to have so greatly preyed upon Augustine's mind, that it was not long after this that death withdrew him from the scene of his labours

2 Selden on Polyolb. 186.
3 Fuller's Ch. Hist. b. ii. p. 68.

and his troubles, and left the field open for other Romish adventurers. His place was quickly supplied by the arrival of Laurentius and Justus, and by the elevation of Mellitus to the see of London, all of whom exerted their utmost efforts to reduce the British Church to conformity to that of Rome. Their failure, however, in this attempt was as signal as that of their predecessors; and it appears that with the Saxons themselves they were not much more successful. Gregory seems to have attributed their failure in the latter case to the prejudices they had excited against them, by their indiscriminate destruction of the Saxon heathen temples. He therefore directed Mellitus, for the future, not to destroy those temples, but simply to cast out the idols, and then to purify them with holy water, to build altars within them, and to place relics under the altars. Yet even this indulgence to the prejudices of the people had not the desired effect—the mission languished daily, and Laurentius, who had succeeded Augustine in the see of Canterbury, began to turn his attention to other quarters. He accordingly addressed letters to the Scottish[4] clergy, and earnestly invited them to a conformity with Rome. But the Scots, as also the Picts, had, like the British, still retained their primitive plainness and simplicity of worship, and were "so shocked at the many pagan superstitions and ceremonies introduced by Augus-

[4] These Scots were originally inhabitants of Ireland, who settled in North Britain, and were converted by Celestine and Palladius. They continued independent of Rome for an hundred years after this attack on them by Laurentius.

tine into the Saxon worship, that they looked upon it as no better than paganism, and avoided the communion of those who came from Rome to establish it, as they avoided the communion of pagans; nay, so great was the aversion that the Scots in particular bore to all the Roman missionaries, that Daganus, a bishop of that nation, not only declined sitting with them at the same table, but would not even lodge with them under the same roof."[5]

In the south of Britain there continued the same aversion towards the Saxons as from the beginning—no approximation had yet taken place between them and the British—so far from it, that, according to an ancient chronicle, "after that by the means of Austen, the Saxons became Christianes, in *such sort as Austen had taught them*, the Bryttayns would not after that nether eate nor drynke with them, nor yet salute them, bycause they corrupted with superstition, ymages and ydolatrie, the true religion of Christe."[6] In this state of affairs in Britain, the Saxons on the point of entirely relapsing into idolatry,—the British as hostile to the Roman priests as they were to the Saxons themselves—no wonder that the missionaries became disheartened, and at last determined to abandon a cause that seemed so utterly hopeless. Mellitus and Justus accordingly removed from Britain. Laurentius, on the eve

[5] Bower's Hist. of the Popes, vol. ii. This is confirmed by Bede, who says that "Bishop Daganus, when he came to us, refused not only to eat with us at the same table, but in the same house."—Lib. ii. c. 4.

[6] Quoted by Bp. Davis, A.D. 1565, from an ancient chronicle in Ben. Coll. Lib. Camb.

of his departure, ordered his bed to be laid in the church at Canterbury, where he passed the night in religious exercises. On the following morning he pretended that St. Peter had visited him, and, chiding him for his intention of abandoning the mission, had flagellated him severely. The lacerated state of his shoulders seemed to prove the truth of his assertion. In this pitiable condition he appeared before Eadbald, Ethelbert's son and successor, who
617. had, on the death of his father, apostatized from the faith. So terrific a sight powerfully affected the royal apostate,—he immediately consented to be rebaptized, recalled Justus and Mellitus, and did all he could to repair the ruinous state of religion in his dominions. He soon after gave his Christian sister Ethelburga in marriage to Edwin, the pagan king of Northumbria, stipulating for the free enjoyment of her religion, as in the case of Bertha her mother. Edwin, in consequence of his marriage, and by the persuasion of Paulinus, a Roman missionary, afterwards archbishop of York, embraced Christianity, and most of his subjects followed his example; but on his death, the whole of Northumbria relapsed into idolatry, and his queen and Paulinus were compelled to fly the country. Disastrous as was this state of things, Edwin's conversion, notwithstanding, eventually proved, indirectly, highly advantageous to his country. It paved the way for a ready and permanent reception of our holy faith, *though not through Roman instrumentality*. When Edwin prevailed over his rival Ethelfrid, the sons of that priest-slaying prince took

refuge in Scotland, where they were converted to Christianity. Oswald, the elder of them, on the death of Edwin, returned to Northumbria, recovered the throne, and determined on Christianizing all his subjects. Happily, his exile had taught him that this could be accomplished *without Roman intervention:* he sent therefore for 635.
missionaries to his friends in Scotland, who at once despatched to him Aidan, a bishop of great reputation. In settling a see for this exemplary prelate, no regard was paid to papal arrangements. Aidan fixed himself at Lindisfarne, or Holy Island, as did also his successors, Finan and Colman, Scots like himself, "unconnected with Rome, repudiating her usages, and despising her assumptions."[7] "It was under these prelates of British origin, it was under a religious system of native growth, that the north of England was evangelized."[8]

A large portion of midland Britain was even still more indebted than Northumbria for the same blessing to the British clergy. The marriage of Peada, king of Mercia, to a Northumbrian princess, on the condition of his embracing Christianity, led to the conversion of his subjects, through the preaching of Diuma, a Scot by birth, whom he 656.
received as his bishop. Diuma's three immediate successors were also members of the British Church; and under these four prelates all the midland counties of England were converted.

The National Church exhibited the same zeal, attended

7 Soames's Anglo-Saxon Chr. p. 57. 8 Ibid.

with the same success, in her endeavours to Christianize
654. the kingdom of Essex. Through the conversion of Sigebert, a prince of that kingdom, during his visit at the Northumbrian Court, Chad, a member of the British Church, receiving episcopal consecration from Finan, bishop of Northumbria, passed over into Essex, and by his exertions reclaimed from idolatry what is now the diocese of London.

East Anglia was also greatly indebted to the ancient British Church for the conversion of its Saxon inhabitants. "Only two counties therefore north of the Thames, viz. Norfolk and Suffolk, can be said to have been subjected to Roman direction during the transition from Paganism to Christianity, and those two were largely indebted to domestic zeal for their conversion. Every other county, from London to Edinburgh, has the full gratification of pointing to the ancient Church of Britain as its nursing mother in Christ's holy faith."[9]

The southern counties of England cannot thus boast; they were chiefly brought to profess the Gospel by the preaching of Romish missionaries. Birinus, a monk, was sent over by Pope Honorius, A.D. 634, and succeeded in converting the West Saxons. But even here again we trace the influence of the British Church, as participating considerably in his glory; for Oswald, king of Northumbria, who at this time was a suitor at the court of the West Saxon for his daughter, did not return to his kingdom

9 Soames's Anglo-Saxon Chr. p. 59.

until he had firmly established Birinus in the new episcopal see at Dorchester in Oxfordshire.

Thus, by degrees, were the Saxons in all parts of Britain brought, at last, under a profession of the Gospel; and if to the British Church does not exclusively belong the honour of their conversion, she at least can claim a larger share than the emissaries of Rome, who appear to have been more earnest in their endeavours to destroy the independence of that Church, than to root out the idolatry of the Saxons. But notwithstanding their repeated failures in this respect, the popes of Rome were still intent on subjecting the British to their power: with this view, on the see of Canterbury becoming vacant, Vitalian immediately despatched Theodorus, a learned monk, born at Tarsus, 668.
to fill that see, who was, contrary to his expectation, well received by the insular princes. Being a man of imperious disposition, he quickly, on his arrival, seized every opportunity of extending the power of Rome throughout England, and of bringing all the churches of his province to conformity with the usages of the Roman Church. He ventured, moreover, to encroach upon the rights of the see of York, though Gregory had ordered that those two sees should be independent of each other after the death of Augustine. This encroachment led to violent disputes, in after-times, between the archbishops of the respective sees; throughout which, it is worthy of notice, that even the Saxon princes insisted on, and maintained their independence of the see of Rome.

During this disturbed state of things, both in the civil and ecclesiastical government of England, it was impossible that Christianity could flourish, or exhibit any of the fruits of a sound and rational religion. As practised by the Saxons it was as corrupt as it well could be. The adoration of the one true God was superseded by that of saints, images, and relics. "Bounty to the Church atoned for every violence towards society," and the most infamous crimes were easily atoned for by penances, and servility to the priests. These scandals in the Church continued unabated to the time when the see of Canterbury was filled by Cuthbert, who, partly with the view of correcting abuses, and partly of drawing closer the Romish connexion,
747. convened a synod at Cloveshoo, near Rochester, A.D. 747, at which a body of canons, for the future government of the Church, was drawn up and promulgated. Contrary to Cuthbert's expectation, the encroachments of the see of Rome were brought forward, and formed a principal subject of discussion, as appears by the second canon of Cloveshoo, which was particularly levelled against the Pope's supremacy, by enacting that "there should be a perpetual concord through the whole ecclesiastical system, in preaching, in living, in judging, without a servile obedience to any one; since they," *i.e.* the clergy "are the servants of one Lord, and mutually engaged in the same service."

Unfortunately, this praiseworthy endeavour to correct abuses proved abortive; and, under the increasing corrup-

tion of the times, the Saxon Church was readily preparing her neck for the Roman yoke. Easy was the progress from a superstitious veneration for everything that emanated from Rome, the head-quarters of corruption, to submission to the papal tyranny there established. Nor were the Roman pontiffs slack in taking advantage of every opening for pushing their pretensions, as was exhibited in the time-serving policy of Offa, king of Mercia. This weak and vindictive prince, having slain the king of Kent, determined on avenging himself of Lambert, archbishop of Canterbury, because of his having espoused his adversary's cause. With the view, therefore, of lessening that prelate's jurisdiction, he resolved on establishing an archbishop's see at Lichfield, and easily obtained from Rome the confirmation of his wishes, by the ready acquiescence of the Pope. But Offa was a man ready enough to degrade the Church still farther for the base purpose of forwarding his ulterior views. He therefore not only gladly admitted two popish legates into his kingdom, allowing them at the 787. council held at Calcuith to interpose their advice and authority, but very shortly afterwards, out of a pretended zeal for the Church, he engaged to pay a yearly tax, called Peter Pence, for the support of the English college at Rome. This tax, though at first received as a free gift by the Roman pontiffs, was very soon claimed as a right. And to this trifling circumstance may be attributed the origin of those bold pretensions, which, in after-times, this usurping Church advanced to the submission

of the British Church as a tributary branch of the Catholic body.

The British Church, in the meantime, continued yet clear of every corruption, and stoutly maintained her independence. Distinct in all respects from the Saxon, she equally resisted the encroachments of Romanists, and the corruptions of her Saxon oppressors. She regarded both one and the other as "heathen men and idolaters," and would hold no manner of communion with them. As for submission, even at this dark period of English history, she rejected the very idea, and continued to conduct the government of her affairs by her own independent councils and synods—a right she asserted from the beginning to that mortifying period, when, bowed beneath the iron yoke of her Saxon and Norman masters, she was compelled at last to yield herself an *involuntary* victim to the Roman power.

The Popes, those "lords over God's heritage," were too conscious, as well as too jealous of her independence, not to take advantage of any opportunity favourable for her enslavement. Accordingly, when, by decision of an English synod held at Hertford, the jurisdiction of Wilfrid, sole prelate of the Northumbrian kingdom, was considerably abridged, that ambitious bishop appealed to the Roman Pontiff. Agatho, the Pope, most readily admitted the appeal; but it was with the artful view of recording it as a precedent for the future subjection of England. Wilfrid was, therefore, one of the principal instruments in

effecting this long-cherished object of Rome, and took an active part in those theological controversies which raged in the north of Britain, between the Romanists and British divines, on the subject of the tonsure, and the time for keeping Easter. The British Churches followed the practice of the Asiatic, in celebrating the Easter Festival on the first Sunday after the thirteenth of the first moon following the vernal equinox;—whereas the Romanists held it on the first Sunday after the fourteenth of the same moon. At a synod held at Whitby, for determining this dispute, "the British pleaded the *antiquity* of their peculiar usages—the Saxons insisted on the *universality* of theirs." After a century of contention, the British Church was compelled to yield to the dictum of Rome; and this was the first effectual blow to her independence.

The ninth and tenth centuries are chiefly memorable for the degraded state of Christianity in Britain, and throughout the whole of Europe. The ignorance and corruption of the clergy were unparalleled in any former age—the history of the Popes is the history of monsters throughout. Baronius their apologist, admits that at Rome "things sacred and profane were at the mercy of factions." With such words he closes his annals of the ninth century; and yet, according to his own statement, these "monsters of Popes" were "legitimate Pontiffs, Christ's Vicars, and Infallible Successors of St. Peter!"[1] The same Baronius

1 Note to Spanheim's Eccl. Ann. p. 440.

declares, moreover, that "the most vile harlots, the mistresses of the bishops of Rome, domineered in the papal see"—that "at their pleasure they changed sees, appointed bishops, and (which is horrible to mention) did thrust into St. Peter's see their own gallants, false Popes!" "The abomination of desolation was now truly seen in the temple; Christ was asleep in the ship, and there was no one to awake him."[2]

No wonder, then, that the people partook largely of this ignorance and corruption of their teachers, and easily admitted the superstitious additions made to the rites and ceremonies of the Church. "Behold," exclaims Baronius, "a new age commences its course, which for its asperity and sterility is called the *iron* age; for its deformity of overflowing evil, the *leaden;* and for its dearth of writers, the *dark* age." Indeed, the ignorance, wickedness, and depravity of this time cannot be overdrawn. "The world seemed to be declining apace towards its evening, and the second coming of the Son of Man to draw near; for love was grown cold, and faith was not found upon the earth."[3] Now all this flood of evil and ignorance is traced, by the historians of these times, to the flagitious character of the Roman Pontiffs, who, for the space of 150 years, were, to the *number of fifty*, wicked and *apostate* men.[4]

2 Spanheim's Eccl. Ann. p. 440.

3 Bellarmine de Sacram. lib. i. c. 8.

4 It is notorious that one Pope, John XII., was only twelve years old when he was elevated to the Pontificate. A child of only five years old was elected archbishop of Rheims.

This deplorable state of the whole body ecclesiastic, when "from the sole of the foot, even unto the head, there was no soundness in it; but wounds, and bruises, and putrifying sores,"—was attended, as before observed, with an extraordinary addition of superstitious practices:—the multiplication of reliques—the canonization of saints—lying miracles—and other gross and infamous novelties, were admitted without scruple. The public service of God consisted chiefly of the mass, consecrations, oblations, prayers to images, pictures, and saints, observance of feasts, &c. The worship of the Virgin Mary, which in the ninth century had been carried to a high degree of idolatry, received in the tenth century a further superstitious addition, by the institution of the *rosary* and *crown* of the Virgin. The former consists of fifteen repetitions of the Lord's Prayer, and 150 salutations of the Virgin; while the latter is made up of six or seven Pater Nosters, and six or seven times ten salutations, or Ave Marias.[5]

The clergy willingly encouraged these absurd devices; and, instead of urging the people to search and obey the Scriptures, they directed them to the canons of the Roman Church, the decrees of the Popes, which were only so many helps and props of the vilest and most profane system ever invented by man. This general corruption of the Western Church extended itself to England, though by no means to the extent it had done in other countries. The doctrine of image worship, as authorized by the second

[5] Mosheim's Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 429.

Council of Nice, and proposed ineffectually by king Offa to the Anglo-Saxon clergy towards the end of the eighth
816. century, gained a little ground here early in the ninth century; when at the council held at Celychyth, under Wulfred, archbishop of Canterbury, it was ordered that on the consecration of any church, the saint in whose honour it was built, should be "commemorated on its walls."[6]

At this council was also agitated the question respecting monachism, which in after ages so long distracted the Church and nation.

836. Ethelwulf, who succeeded his father Egbert on the throne of England, about twenty years after the council of Celychyth, had been educated for the ministry by Swithin, bishop of Winchester, under whose tuition he imbibed a violent partiality for monachism and popery; and during the troubles by which his reign was agitated from the invasion of the Danes, courted the favour of Heaven by his extraordinary patronage of the Church. Thus he conceded the tenth part of the royal domains for the perpetual
854. use of the clergy, settled a pension on the Pope, and would, no doubt, have surrendered himself, his Church, and people, to the entire control of that Pontiff, had he not been fortunately deposed by his indignant subjects.

This was a great blow to the ambitious designs of his holiness, and was the means of checking, for some time longer, the encroachments of the see of Rome. For Alfred

[6] "Depictum in pariete"—whether this meant by means of a *picture* or a *inscription* may perhaps be doubtful.

the Great, notwithstanding his early Roman predilections, on his obtaining unexpectedly the crown of England, 871. showed little disposition to yield to any of the papal pretensions; on the contrary, he was always most cautious in guarding against any acknowledgment of Roman supremacy; and though he was confirmed in his regal rights by one Pope, and received several valuable presents from another, yet those marks of personal attention seem to have called forth little or no correspondent feeling of friendship. Unlike his predecessors, Offa and Ina, he procured no bulls of privilege for the abbeys he founded at Athelney and Winchester, or his nunnery at Shaftesbury. In his anxiety to establish the University of Oxford, and other public schools, he invited none of the learned men from the see of Rome,[7] he received no legates, permitted no interference in his synods, and even ventured to take up the cause of Johannes Scotus Erigena, who had fallen under the censure of the Roman Pontiff.

By the ecclesiastical ordinances, moreover, which he promulgated in 877, he effected a vast deal in restoring the 877. Church to her former purity; and by his patronage of learned men, his numerous literary works, and above all by his translation of the Bible into the vernacular tongue, he not only diffused a taste for letters generally, but particularly a spirit of religious inquiry throughout the land.

His son and successor, Edward the Elder, was of a far 904. more pliable disposition, and tamely submitted to many

[7] Vide Appendix, p. 263.

indignities which the Roman Pontiffs were beginning indiscriminately to heap on the princes of Europe. Athel-
925. stan, his eldest son, was a religious and high-minded prince, who, by his strict enforcement of the law of tithes, and his introduction of *Church-shot*, and sundry provisions for the building of village churches, merits the lasting gratitude of the Church of England.

943 His brother Edmund was equally zealous for the Church, and was a liberal patron of sundry religious establishments. Under his protection, Dunstan, the celebrated abbot of Glastonbury, established for the first time in England a monastery of the Benedictine order: and after his elevation to the see of Canterbury, in Edgar's
959 reign, effected an entire revolution in the government and discipline of religious establishments.[8] With all his faults, Dunstan claims our admiration, for his steady and undaunted assertion of the Church's independence of Rome, and for the firmness with which he ever insisted on the royal supremacy—a fact deserving of special notice at this dark period of English history, as marking, in the dearth of more important events, the yet unbroken independence of the Anglo-Saxon Church.

And with respect to the doctrines of the Church, it is equally certain that, gross as were many of the errors and corruptions which had already tainted the orthodoxy of

[8] St. Dunstan was the first ecclesiastic who compelled the English clergy to put away their wives. Several canons were afterwards formed for enforcing their celibacy, but they failed to produce the intended effect—for the clergy resolutely resisted every law made for that purpose.

the national religion, yet in some essential points she still repudiated all communion with Rome. From such materials as are scantily afforded us in the writings of the Anglo-Saxon divines, it is most satisfactory to find the amplest testimony to one important truth—that to the latest period of their religious history they never admitted 1066.
the doctrine of Transubstantiation. The writings of Elfric, especially his Paschal Homily and his two Epistles, abundantly prove how directly he was opposed to the Eucharistic belief of modern Romanists; and there is equally strong testimony in his other homiletical writings against the further novelties of the Pope's *supremacy*, *infallibility*, and *absolving power*. The Homilies of Elfric are thus invaluable evidence, as beating down that fond conceit which would identify modern Romanism with the ancient religious system of the Anglo-Saxon Church in some of the cardinal points of belief. It is true that the Saxon homilies countenanced certain opinions which the Reformed Church of England has since rejected—"but their voice upon other distinctive points is Protestant,"[9] and loudly lifted up against those numerous superstitions which every day were more and more openly distinguishing the Romish Church from the ancient faith.[1]

[9] Soames's Hist. of the Anglo-Sax. Chr. p. 246.

[1] Whelock also, in his edition of Bede, produces evidence from various other Saxon homilies, to prove that the British and Anglo-Saxons, before the Conquest, did not believe in Transubstantiation, nor in Indulgences, nor in the Invocation of Saints, nor in Purgatory, nor in the propriety of restraining the Reading of the Scriptures: and as to the Popish supremacy, the same writer shows, from the same homilies, that the Saxons understood those words of

The whole of continental Europe was fast approaching to a state of the most deplorable ignorance that can be imagined. The Church was everywhere so debased, that it was supposed by those who yet maintained their integrity, that Satan was now loosed for a time, and that Antichrist foretold in the New Testament had appeared previously to the destruction of the world; and by the unnatural and unscriptural law of celibacy, and the indolent insolence of monachism, was exhibiting the distinguishing characters of the arch-apostate.

The encroaching power of the Popes kept pace with the growth of corruption, and received considerable augmenta-
1095. tion in the eleventh century from the crusades, or holy wars, which Sylvester II., Urban II., and other ambitious Popes, purposely fomented under the sanction of religion, for the mere purpose of consolidating their usurped power. These wars gave them extraordinary influence in the political world, and led to their assumption of the titles of "Lords of the universe"—"Arbiters of the fate of kingdoms"—"Universal Fathers"—"Supreme Rulers over the kings and princes of the earth." Supreme rulers they certainly were, and the influence they acquired over the most powerful armies that Europe had ever beheld can scarcely be believed; were it not that plenary indulgence, or *pardon for every sin*, the reward of a crusader, *was*

Christ, "Thou art Peter," &c., merely in a figurative sense, as indeed meaning no more than "I will build my Church upon the faith which you have now confessed." The power of the keys is explained by the Saxon homilist as having been given to *all the other* Apostles as well as to St. Peter.

and *is* a talisman of irresistible power. The Christian princes in time became exhausted by wars that swept away of the flower of their forces upwards of 6,000,000 persons; while the Popes grew rich, daring, and omnipotent. Leo IX. and Gregory VII. (Hildebrand) were, without dispute, the most daring of all these daring men.

What effect this growing power of the Popes had on the state of religion in Europe was easily discernible in the retrograde course of Christianity. "A miserable superstition enslaved the minds of all Christendom." "As were the people, so were the priests," from the lowest to the highest rank. The lives of the Popes abundantly confirm this statement. Sylvester II., Benedict IX.,[2] and Gregory VI., are described by various writers as "monsters of men, infamous Antichrists, flagitious in their lives, tyrants in their rule, and diabolical in their arts."[3] Platina calls the three above-mentioned Popes "three most dreadful monsters"—and most of these "monsters," who were raised to the pontificate during these dark ages, are represented as being "indolent, adulterous, proud, ignorant, simoniacal, covetous, and bloody."[4] Of such there were sometimes three, and even *five*, infallible Heads of the Church at the same time.

Such was the state of religion throughout the papal dominions, as exhibited in the characters of her teachers! No wonder "the soul of Gregory was" so extremely

2 Benedict was only *ten* years old when he was elevated to the Popedom.
3 Spanheim's Eccl. Ann. Cent. XI. 4 Idem.

"grieved,"[5] as described by the credulous Baronius. Less candid historians have been equally unsparing of these sad times, and have unanimously represented the state of the whole clerical order as more degraded, by ignorance and depravity, than at any former period. "The clergy were not distinguished from the people by any purity of life. The bishops were become careless, dumb dogs, simoniacal and covetous."[6]

In England, so far removed from the headquarters of apostacy, it would seem that the Pope's increasing influence was not so direct. Religion had yet to contend, in some parts of the country, with Saxon and Danish
1030. idolatry, which, in the reign even of Canute, was of sufficient magnitude to require the enactment of the following special law for its suppression:—"We strictly discharge and forbid all our subjects to worship the gods of the Gentiles; that is to say, the sun, moon, fires, rivers, fountains, hills, or trees and woods of any kind."[7]

So that while the Church had to contend on the one hand with the encroachments of Romanism, and on the other with the superstitions of Paganism, it appears as if she was the more resolute, on those very accounts, in keeping herself pure from the contact of either. Under the heptarchy, and at the moment when England was passing under a monarchical form of government, there are not

[5] Baronius in Gregorio VII., A.D. 1075.
[6] William of Tyre, lib. i. 8.
[7] Henry's Hist. of England, b. i. c. ii. sect. 2.

wanting proofs of the yet uncorrupted state of Christianity; and many of the presbyters of the British Church stand forth pre-eminent for their piety and learning, even at that dark day. During the subsequent iron sway of the Norman conquerors, the Church of England still maintained, as will be shown in the sequel, her ancient independence, which, at the restoration of the Saxon line, in the person of Henry II., was eventually lost.

William, surnamed the Conqueror, on the deposition of Harold, and before his invasion of England, pretended the utmost deference to the Roman see; but no sooner had he gained his point, and under the auspices of the Pope, established, by force of arms, his sovereignty over England, than he began to assert his independence of the papal power; and in spite of the menaces of Gregory VII., when that arrogant pontiff summoned him to do homage for his kingdom, as a fief of the apostolic see, sternly refused, declaring that he held his kingdom of God only, and *his own sword*,—a mortifying declaration, truly, to the pride of him whose power was omnipotent that, according to his bold panegyrist, he "ruled in heaven."[8] 1066.

Fortunately for the English Church, this "impious, perjured, perfidious, cruel, proud, superstitious, and hypocritical man,"[9] was too busily occupied by his wars with Henry IV. to pay much heed to the rebellious Norman;

[8] Baronius.

[9] These epithets were applied to Gregory by Cardinal Benno. Vide Spanheim, Cent. XI.

for while he was hurling the thunders of the Vatican against the German emperor, on the long-disputed question of the Right of Investitures,[1] William peaceably enjoyed and maintained *his right*, and allowed nothing to be transacted in Church affairs without his sanction. He even forbad his subjects to receive their orders from, or to acknowledge the authority of the Pope in any way. The English clergy, on their part, as stoutly opposed many of Gregory's decrees, and especially the one he issued enjoining their celibacy. The doctrine of Transubstantiation was also generally rejected by the great body of the English clergy.

1087. William Rufus was not of a more yielding disposition. In defiance of papal menace, he kept in his own hands the
1100. vacant bishoprics and abbeys, and sold them at times to the highest bidder. We know also that his successor, Henry I., successfully maintained his right to the homage of all bishops and abbots within his realm, though he yielded the point of investiture, in the long-disputed case of Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury.[2]

1135. Stephen proved himself to be a mere tool of the Pope, in return for the support he received from him in defending his bad title to the British throne. His reign, more-

1 The right of investing the bishops and abbots with the ring and crosier was long claimed by the sovereign princes, and led, as might be expected, to continual acts of simony. This right Gregory insisted on recovering, and issued an anathema against any one who ventured to receive investiture from the hands of a layman.

2 He prohibited all appeal to the court of Rome, which was declared to be "unheard of in this kingdom, and altogether contrary to its usages."

over, was so full of trouble, that undue advantage was taken of that circumstance by the Pope, to encroach on the king's prerogative of appointing to the legateship. This encroachment seemed at first of little moment, but it afterwards led to very serious consequences, inasmuch as it was through the legates that Rome at length trod on the necks of both kings and clergy.[3]

Henry II., in whom the Saxon line was restored, was 1163.
neither blind to the encroachments of Rome, nor to the evils resulting from the pretended immunities of the clergy. His resolutions, therefore, in the earlier days of his reign, were in strict accordance with the conduct of his Norman predecessors. He determined to check the grasping power of the Pope, and to lessen the privileges of the clergy. For this purpose he summoned the famous Council of 1164.
Clarendon, near Salisbury, at which were produced, debated, and ratified, the sixteen celebrated constitutions, by which Henry established his jurisdiction over the clergy, and his independence of the Pope, and curbed the pretensions of bishops and priests, by bringing them under the cognizance of the civil courts. Against these constitutions Pope Alexander III. entered his indignant protest, and severely reproved Thomas à Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, for daring to sign them, and the bishops and clergy of England for following his example. The Pope's remonstrance proved successful with the archbishop, who speedily recanted, and most violently opposed the king.

3 Vide Rapin's Hist.

His opposition was at first meekly endured by Henry; but at length became so pertinacious, that he was summoned to appear before the king. This summons the haughty prelate treated with contempt; whereupon the bishops, "by joint consent, adjudged him of perjury, for not yielding temporal allegiance to his temporal sovereign, and by the mouth of the bishop of Chichester, disclaimed thenceforward all obedience to him as their archbishop. The next day, whilst the bishops and peers were consulting of some further course with him, Becket, not as yet daunted, caused to be sung before him at the altar the 23d verse of the 119th Psalm, 'Princes did sit and speak against me,' &c.; and forthwith, taking his silver cross in his own hands (a thing strange and unheard of before), enters armed therewith into the king's presence, though earnestly dissuaded by all that wished him well. Wherewith the king, enraged, commanded his peers to sit in judgment on him, as on a traitor and perjured person. The Earls of Cornwall and Leicester, who sat as judges, cited him to hear his sentence pronounced. He immediately appealed to the see of Rome, as holding no judges competent. Whereupon, all reviling him with the name of traitor, and the like, he replied, that, were it not for his function, he would enter the duel or combat with them in the field, to acquit himself both of treason and perjury."[4]

Such being his insolent pertinacity, Henry was com-

[4] Speed.

pelled to depose him; and the degraded prelate at once directed his steps to Rome, where, on reaching the Pope's presence, he took off his ring, and presented it to his holiness, whereby he formally resigned his see into the Pope's hands.

"This submission on his part to the Pope highly offended the clergy of England, which they considered as a precedent of a very dangerous import."[5] He afterwards retired into France, where he continued to reside, till, through the mediation of the French king, his restoration was at last effected. Becket, however, had profited little by experience; he returned the same bold, daring man as before, and obstinately persisted in his opposition to the king. His insolent career was soon after cut short by the hands of four assassins, who, regardless of his expostulations and threats, slew him, after an ineffectual resistance, at the very altar of his cathedral, at the hour of vespers. The miserable man had only time to utter the following words:—"Unto God, and to Sainte Marye, and to the saintes that are patrons of this church, and to Sainte Denise, I commend myself and the Church's cause."[6]

This tragical end of the unbending prelate led, as might be expected, to warm discussions between the Pope and the King, which ended at length in the complete triumph of Alexander. Henry was compelled to submit to the following humiliating conditions as the price of the Pope's absolution:—1. Never to oppose his holiness' will. 2.

[5] Strutt's Antiq. [6] Hollingshed.

Not to hinder appeals to the Roman see. 3. To lead his troops to the Holy Land. 4. To make restitution of all property he had taken from the clergy. 5. To abolish the constitutions of Clarendon, and all other obnoxious laws.

Henry, however, had not yet filled up the measure of his humiliation—he agreed to walk barefoot to the tomb of Becket, and submitted to receive, on his bare shoulders, five stripes from each of the five prelates, and three from each of the eighty monks of Canterbury, who scourged him with knotted cords. He then clothed his bleeding body in sackcloths, and continued kneeling on the cold stones all that day, until the midnight bell tolled for matins, and thus remained in prayer before the shrine till break of day. He then drank some water, mixed with some of Becket's blood, and returned to London.

1172. Thus, after centuries of conflict and struggle, was the Pope's supremacy established over the realm of England, and the extraordinary power of the Roman see exhibited in the humiliating submission of one of the most potent princes in Europe. The long-cherished scheme of universal dominion was consummated by this successful assault on the rights of the British monarchy; and with the independence of Henry fell also the liberty of the British Church.

But if Alexander had reason to triumph in the submission of so powerful a British sovereign, Innocent III. had no less cause to exult in the degradation of a prince but

little inferior to Henry in spirit or in power. The primacy of England falling vacant, contrary to all law and rule, the Pope at once appointed to it one Stephen Lang- 1211.
ton, a mere creature of his own, in defiance of King John's previous appointment of John de Gray, bishop of Norwich. Innocent at first adopted conciliatory measures, but John was not thus to be won over to his views. He signified to the Pope, that if his holiness persisted in thus invading his just prerogative, he should at once break off all intercourse with Rome. The indignant Pontiff, nothing daunted, immediately laid England under an interdict. "The nation was of a sudden deprived of all exterior exercises of worship—no bell was heard—no taper was lighted—no service performed—no Church open;"[7]—"the dead were not interred in consecrated ground—they were thrown into ditches, or buried in the fields—the people were forbidden to salute each other, or to shave their beards. Every circumstance carried symptoms of the deepest distress, and of the most immediate apprehension of Divine vengeance and indignation."[8]

This severe interdict having failed to produce the least submission in King John, was followed by a formal act of 1213.
excommunication. By this act, his subjects were absolved from their allegiance—the throne declared vacant—the crown offered to Philip of France—and that monarch exhorted to invade England. The invasion was determined upon—the fleet and army prepared to act—and

[7] Southey's Book of the Church. [8] Hume's Hist.

inevitable destruction seemed to await the excommunicated monarchy of England. At this crisis the wily Pope despatched Pandolph, his legate, with the offer of terms to John, who so worked upon the fears of that pusillanimous sovereign, increased no doubt by a prophecy of Peter the Hermit, that the crown of England should be given to another before Ascension-day, that he speedily brought him to submission. King John, in fear and trembling, affixed his seal to the act of his humiliation, and swore to observe what he had thus subscribed. But his degradation was not yet complete—terrified by the hermit's prophecy, and alarmed at the threatening aspect of everything and person around him—on the day before Ascension-day, he laid his crown at Pandolph's feet, and signed an instrument, by which, for the *remission of his sins*, and *those of his family*, he surrendered the kingdom of England and Ireland to the Pope, to *hold them thenceforth under him*—for himself, his heirs, and successors, he swore liege homage to that see, bound his kingdom to the annual payment of 1000 marks, to be paid for ever in token of vassalage, and renounced for himself and his heirs all right to the throne, if the agreement on their part should at any time be broken. A sum of money was then laid down in earnest of this tribute, which Pandolph, acting his part with consummate skill, trampled under foot, and moreover kept the crown in his possession for five days. John, in the shame and indignation of the moment, had the meanness to vent his

wrath on the poor hermit, whom, together with his son, he caused to be put to death.

Langton now came forth from his retreat—met the king at Winchester, and falling down at his feet, asked his forgiveness. The primate made him swear to defend the Church, and to make full satisfaction for all the damages that had been brought on individuals by the Pope's interdict. John's abject spirit yielded every point, and while his disgraceful submission did not bring him even the respect of the Roman party, it lost him the confidence of all his subjects. From this moment commenced that memorable struggle between John and his barons —a weak and temporizing king, and a firm but turbulent nobility—which, after a violent struggle, was at last happily terminated, by the king's signing, at Runnymede, June 19, 1215, the famous deed, called Magna 1215.
Charta, which was the groundwork of British liberty, and the corner-stone of that noble fabric which in time resulted from it—the unrivalled Constitution of England.

John, however, though he saved his crown by this concession to his subjects, felt that his signature had really been extorted by compulsion, and that his barons, not himself, were now the rulers of England. He therefore, as a fief of the Roman see, complained to the Pope, and entreated his interference. Innocent, but too willing to oblige so *faithful* a servant, immediately issued a bull of excommunication against his rebellious subjects, annulled the whole

charter, and forbad the king to consider himself bound by it.[9]

The barons, on their part, paid no attention to the bull. Langton received orders to pronounce their excommunication, but this he refused to do, and was, in consequence, suspended by the Pope's legate. Under this suspension that courageous and high-minded prelate continued till after the death of both the Pope and the King, when he
1216. was reinstated in the primacy, and afterwards became the principal agent in obtaining for the barons, from Henry III., the full confirmation of Magna Charta.

Nothing was now wanting to render the Pope's power supreme in England; though successfully resisted till the end of the Norman conquest,[1] and the restoration of the Saxon line, yet the weakness of one monarch, and the worthlessness of another, at length brought the Church and kingdom of England prostrate at the feet of St. Peter. Great dissatisfaction was expressed at this her degraded state of subjection; but it was in vain to oppose a power that wielded all the wealth of Europe, and which held an irresistible sway over the minds of the great mass of the people. Each successive Pope seemed to be advancing to greater degrees of arrogance and aggression,—so that what appeared impossible to Gregory VII., in the eleventh century, was a matter of no difficulty to Innocent III., in the thirteenth. As temporal lord, the Pope now acknowledged no superior, and no equal—he was the fountain of

[9] Matthew Paris.

[1] Vide Blackstone's Com. b. iv. c. 8.

all honour, power, and rule—king of kings, and lord of lords. "As a spiritual character, he sat in the temple of God, asserting himself to be God, immaculate, infallible, uncontrollable." He declared himself to be the "bridegroom of the Church, which was his bride; and that, for a dowry, the fulness of spiritual and a large extent of temporal things were given him: and he even permitted others to say of him, that they had *received from his fulness*—that he was a *mediator between God and man*—and that the pontifical dignity was before and superior to the imperial authority."[2] Pride and tyranny had never before so powerful a representative as Innocent, under whose pontificate the gross errors of transubstantiation, auricular confession, purgatory, the sacrifice of the mass, merit of works, necessity of celibacy, intercession and invocation of saints, &c., became more and more interwoven with the Romish system of theology. And that these monstrous departures from the truth might neither be detected nor exposed, this same Pope, in his decretal epistles, prohibited the reading of the Gospels, Epistles, and Psalms, by the laity, in their vernacular tongue.

Such was the man under whose jurisdiction the Church of England had at last fallen—such were the means by which that Church, after a successful struggle against the encroachments of Rome from the days of Augustine, became overwhelmed and buried in the flood of popish corruption; for with her independence departed also her

2 Spanheim's Eccl. Ann. Cent. xiii.

purity of worship and doctrine; and the Church of England, once the glory of Christendom, and the bulwark of that sound "faith once delivered to the saints," became identified in the main points of doctrine and discipline with the Church of Rome. No longer was she to be recognised as the plain, pure, and simple fabric, which an Apostle had erected, and saints and martyrs had beautified. She lay buried under the overwhelming weight of Popery! Perranzabuloe—St. Piran in the sand!!

CHAPTER V.

"The course of Christianity and the Christian Church may not unaptly be likened to a mighty river, which filled a wide channel, and bore along with its waters mud, and gravel, and weeds, till it met a great rock in the middle of its stream. By some means or other, the water flows purely, and separated from the filth, in a deeper and narrower course on one side of the rock, and the refuse of the dirt and troubled water goes off on the other side in a broader current, and then cries out, We are the river."—*Coleridge's Table Talk*, vol i.

THE tyranny of Papal Rome, under which the most powerful states of Europe had so long groaned, was fast approaching a crisis—the measure of iniquity was nearly filled up, and it was evident that clouds were gathering in the West, portentous of the coming storm. "Surely the wrath of man shall praise Thee, O Lord! the remainder of wrath shalt Thou restrain!"

The long career of wickedness by which Popery had advanced to its present power was drawing to a close, and the political troubles and animosities it had stirred up among its obsequious subjects in many of the more power-

ful states, were beginning to show signs of a reaction, which the increasing corruption and despotism of the Pope were tending rapidly to augment.

1294. Pope Boniface VIII., who succeeded to the pontificate A.D. 1294, was disposed to outstrip all his predecessors in priestly arrogance and depravity. "He was born to be the plague both of Church and State, a disturber of the repose of nations, and his attempts to extend and confirm the despotism of the Roman Pontiffs were carried to a length that approached to frenzy. From the moment that he entered upon his new dignity, he laid claim to a supreme and irresistible dominion over all the powers of the earth, both spiritual and temporal, terrified kingdoms and empires with the thunder of his bulls, called princes and sovereign states before his tribunal to decide their quarrels," and, in a word, "exhibited to the Church and to Europe a lively image of the tyrannical administration of Gregory VII., whom he perhaps surpassed in arrogance."[1] This was seen in one of his earliest acts; for he first showed himself in public, "girt with a sword, and sustaining an imperial crown, and exclaimed, 'I am Cæsar, and also Pope; behold here are two swords!' alluding to his spiritual and temporal authority."

1300 The throne of France was about the same period occupied by Philip the Fair, a man of bold and enterprising spirit, and in every way qualified to curb the madness of the Roman Pontiff. Of this Boniface was so sensible, that

[1] Mosheim's Eccl. Hist. vol. iii. p. 186.

he determined on striking the first blow, and accordingly at once addressed a letter to that high-minded prince, in which he insisted on his divine right to the submission of all temporal kings. Philip's only reply was, "We give your fool's head to know, that in temporals we are subject to no person." The Pope rejoined by publishing the celebrated bull, "Unam Sanctam," in which he declared the king an heretic, and, as such, the servant of perdition. Philip, in the council held at Paris, A.D. 1303, caused the 1303
following articles to be decreed against him :—That he was guilty of simony, that he was a homicide, usurer, heretic, epicure, a despiser of religion, and guilty of incest; that he had bribed the Saracens to invade Sicily out of hatred to France.[2] The Pope, on his part, answers the accusation by pronouncing the sentence of excommunication against Philip and all his adherents : he also absolved his subjects from their allegiance, and gave the kingdom to Albert of Austria.

The king could not quietly brook so great an insult; filled with indignation, and regardless of all consequences, he at once sent William de Nogaret, a bold and able lawyer, to Italy, with directions to seize the Pope, and carry him forcibly to Lyons, where he determined to hold a council in judgment upon him. Nogaret dexterously performed his part—seized his holiness at Anagni, and would have taken him to France, had he not been rescued and carried back to Rome, where, partly from mortifi-

2 Spanheim's Eccl. Ann. Cent. xiv.

cation, and partly from a blow inflicted by Nogaret, he died a miserable death.

This event was quickly followed by another that proved equally fatal to the power of Rome. Philip, strong in his power, and quick in following up his advantage, succeeded in appointing Clement V., a Frenchman, to the pontificate; who transferred the papal residence to Avignon in France, where it continued for seventy years. Clement proved himself but little inferior to Boniface, either in audacity or tyranny. He compelled Henry, emperor of Germany, to travel to Rome, and receive the imperial crown from the hands of cardinals. He afterwards gave all the emperor's dominions to Robert king of Sicily: and Henry himself was deprived of life by *a poisoned wafer administered to him at the Sacrament* by a Dominican friar. The ambassador also of the doge of Venice was compelled to prostrate himself, with a chain round his neck, under the table of this haughty Pope while he was at supper.

The removal of the headquarters of Popery contributed more than any other event at this time to shake the papal throne to its foundation. It led to many a struggle for the restoration of St. Peter's chair; but the issue of each fresh attempt only the rather accelerated that schism in
1378. the popedom, which took place A.D. 1378. This great Western schism, as it was called, continued for fifty years, during which period the Roman Church had frequently two or three *infallible* heads at the same moment. In its consequences, however, it proved highly beneficial to the

civil and religious interests of the world. The head of the dragon was smitten asunder—kings and princes once more began to recover their ancient independence, and the people, no longer blinded by the glare of a false lustre, began to find out that the "interests of true religion might be secured and promoted without a visible head, crowned with a spiritual supremacy."

But other diseases were preying on the vitals of Popery —the scandalous corruptions of the whole system of monachism were unparalleled in any former age. The mendicants, especially the Dominicans and Franciscans, were at the head of the monastic orders, and by their rapacity, insolence, and profligacy, their mutual contentions and meddling interference in religious instruction, drew down upon them the bitter hatred of all classes of the people. So universal indeed was this hatred, that in almost every district and university in Europe these sturdy beggars were warmly opposed by the bishops and clergy.

The university of Oxford was the first to rise in arms against the Dominicans,[3] who had presumed to interfere with the system of education then pursued. Their conduct was so generally condemned that parents were afraid to send their sons there, and the number of students in consequence had dwindled down from the number of 30,000 to 6000.

Fortunately, at this time, there was a man raised up by Divine Providence, who had the courage to attack these

3 Ant. Wood's Oxon. Ant. tom. i.

friars, and skill enough to baffle them with their own weapons. This great man was John Wicliffe—a name to be venerated and had in remembrance by the Protestant Church "as long as there is any virtue, and while there is any praise" on earth.

Wicliffe was first known as Professor of Divinity, and Master of Baliol College, and soon acquired considerable reputation by his successful disputations with the friars on theological and scholastic subtilties. The scholastic theology, as it was called, which took its rise in the twelfth century, was a system that substituted logical rules and definitions for Scripture; and, at this time, for the sole purpose of confirming the errors of Popery, exceeded all bounds in its sophistry, barbarism, and impudence. It was now generally employed about idle and useless questions respecting purgatory, transubstantiation, the power of the Pope, &c., and "continued to darken the glimmerings of truth that were struggling for existence, till the glorious dawn of the Reformation."[4]

Against the "unintelligible gibberish" of this system, Wicliffe openly protested. The monks of every order made common cause against him, and endeavoured to effect his ruin. But Wicliffe, nothing daunted, manfully maintained his ground, and very shortly after came forward again as an opponent of the papal power.

It happened that, about this time, Edward III. of England had formed a league with Louis, king of Bavaria,

[4] Spanheim's Eccl. Ann. Cent. xiv. Mosheim's Eccl. Hist.

to resist the Pope in his claim of presenting to vacant benefices, and of imposing taxes on the clergy of their respective kingdoms. A very spirited remonstrance was sent to his holiness, declaring that "wild beasts rioted in the Lord's vineyard by the impositions of the Church, the cure of souls was neglected, and mercenary men sought only temporary advantage;" and the parliament of England simultaneously passed an act, that the treasure of the kingdom should not be carried beyond the sea, and that no one should be admitted to a benefice by a bull from the Pope.

Wicliffe openly, by his writings, espoused the cause of Edward in these matters, and especially opposed the encroachments of Pope Urban V., at the time that he insisted upon that monarch's doing him homage, as John had done before—a demand that the king, supported by his parliament, positively rejected.

The reputation that Wicliffe acquired by his writings in defence of the king's prerogative, was the occasion of his being commissioned to go to Bruges, to meet the Pope's representative, and there personally to resist the papal pretension to the presentation of benefices in England. On his return to England he attacked the Pope's supremacy in the boldest manner—held him up to public scorn as the "*man of sin*," the "*son of perdition*," whom St. Paul prophetically describes "sitting as God in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God;" and openly denounced him as the "Antichrist."

These opinions Wicliffe boldly preached and published, and they were quickly propagated by his disciples, who attacked the friars in their own manner, preaching to the people, and going about, as he himself did, barefooted, and in plain frieze gowns.

It was not long before Wicliffe was accused of heresy; but already his party mustered so strong in England, that according to a contemporary writer, Henry de Knyghton, who from being a violent opponent of Wicliffe, had become a convert to the true faith by his preaching, "you could not meet two people in the way but one of them was a disciple of Wicliffe." He was also firmly supported by John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, at that time administering the affairs of England; and the University of Oxford, where he was so extremely popular, had the courage to refuse obedience to a mandate from the Pope's nuncio for giving him up.

Wicliffe was not, however, a man to cower before his enemies—he did not hesitate to obey a precept from the primate, and to appear before the council convened at St. Paul's. Here the demeanour of the Duke of Lancaster, and of Lord Percy, the Earl Marshall, was so violent, the council was hastily concluded, and the accused was summoned before another at Lambeth, which also was abruptly dissolved, and no sentence pronounced, "because they feared the people—for all men counted John that he was a prophet indeed."[5]

[5] Fuller's Ch. Hist.

The time was most propitious for the spread of Wicliffe's opinions; the great Western schism had just begun, and "the spectacle of two infallible heads anathematizing one another, could not fail to open the eyes of Christendom to the unwarranted pretensions of both."[6]

Of this happy combination of circumstances, so providentially overruled by the Almighty for the good of his Church, Wicliffe took instant advantage, and published a Tract, in which he effectually exposed the *absurdity* of *ascribing infallibility* to *a divided Church.* In order, also, that the people might be able to judge for themselves of the truth of his doctrines, he translated the Bible from the Vulgate into English, with a careful collation of other verses subjoined. He completed this wonderful work without any assistance, and therefore, as it must be considered, with superhuman labour and learning. "By this great and good work the pleasure of the Most High prospered in his hand. An eager appetite for scriptural knowledge was excited among the people, which they would make any sacrifice, and risk any danger, to gratify. Entire copies of the Bible, when they could only be multiplied by means of amanuenses,[7] were too costly to be within the reach of very many readers; but those who could not procure the volume of the book, would give a load of hay for a few favourite chapters, and

6 Blunt on the Reformat. p. 85.

7 As proof of the costly price of MS. copies of the sacred Scriptures, it is recorded of Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, that he offered the *town of Stranbingen* to the Abbey of St. Emeran, for the purchase of a copy of the Gospels, which had been presented to it by the emperor Henry IV.—*Martene's Second Voyage Litteraire.*

many such scraps were consumed upon the persons of the martyrs at the stake.[8] They would hide the forbidden treasure under the floor of their houses, and put their lives in peril, rather than forego the book they desired; they would sit up all night, their doors being shut for fear of surprise, reading, or hearing others read the word of God; they would bury themselves in the woods, and there converse with it in solitude; they would tend their herds in the fields, and still steal an hour for drinking in the good tidings of great joy. Thus was the Angel come down to trouble the water, and there was only wanted some providential crisis to put the nation into it, that he might be made whole."[9]

This is further attested by an historian of high repute among the Roman Catholics, who confesses that by the publication of the Bible "a spirit of inquiry was generated, and the seeds were sown of that religious revolution, which in little more than a century astonished and convulsed the nations of Europe."[1]

Wicliffe shortly after published his "Conclusions" against the doctrine of transubstantiation, which had been first made an article of belief by Innocent III. In this work he admirably exposed the unscriptural absurdities and numerous contradictions of the doctrine. His opinions on this point rapidly gained ground—his followers speedily

8 Attested by Foxe and others.
9 Blunt's Sketch of the Reformation, p. 95.
1 Dr. Lingard's Hist.

multiplied, and received the appellation of Lollards, a name that certain persecuted enthusiasts had already obtained in the Low Countries, from their practice of singing hymns—"lollen" or "lullen," in one of the old German dialects, signifying to sing.[2]

Wicliffe having thus attacked popery in its strongest hold, proceeded to demolish the mummery of penances, satisfactions, auricular confession, extreme unction, relics, &c., and earnestly recalled the people from the adoration of the Virgin Mary and of saints and images, to the worship of that God who will not give his honour to a mere creature.

This bold, uncompromising opposition raised up a host of adversaries against Wicliffe, the most bitter of whom were the clergy and monks, who succeeded in obtaining an order from Gregory XI. for his imprisonment; but so 1377.
great was his popularity at this time, that through the importunity of the people he was immediately liberated. About five years afterwards, on the elevation of the bigoted W. Courtenay to the see of Canterbury, he was summoned before the Primate, but refused to appear. Articles were exhibited against him, drawn up from his written and published opinions; and though the council was well-nigh abruptly dissolved by a great earthquake, which was interpreted by many as a divine token in Wicliffe's favour, yet by Courtenay's dexterity a different inference was drawn, his opinions were condemned, and himself ordered to be

[2] Whence our nursery "Lullaby."

1382. expelled from the University of Oxford. But this part of the sentence was never carried into execution, and Wicliffe was permitted to retire to his rectory at Lutterworth, where he still persevered in his doctrine, faith, and piety.
1384. Here he continued till the day of his death, unmolested, and almost unheard of.

His writings, however, lifted up their voice from England, and were rapidly circulated throughout Europe, where they excited the most searching inquiry into the truth of his statements, and became the principal instrument on the Continent for calling forth many a champion and witness of the truth; among whom were John Huss of Bohemia, Jerome of Prague,[3] and Mallœsius, of the same city—men most highly distinguished for their resolute opposition to the papal power.

In England, "the New Doctrines," as the Romanists then miscalled them, daily gained additional advocates.

1399. Henry IV., who succeeded in deposing Richard II., and usurping the British throne, principally through the aid of the clergy—the only instance on record of the disloyalty of that body—to mark his gratitude for their interference, issued a severe statute against all who should, by preaching, writing, or teaching, propagate the growing opinions: and he further ordered all heretical writings to be delivered up by those who possessed them, and due submission to

3 These two martyrs, according to the testimony of Æneas Sylvius, afterward Pope Pius II., "suffered death with a constant mind, went readily to the stake, as *though invited to a feast*, and even in the midst of the flames sung psalms and hymns."

be made, on pain of *being burnt alive.* Transubstantiation was made the test of a man's orthodoxy, and so rigidly was it applied, that great numbers perished in the flames under the brutal direction of Archbishop Arundel.

Twelve inquisitors of heresy were despatched to Oxford, the headquarters of the *New Doctrines,* to search out and destroy all heretical persons and books. These inquisitors executed their commission with unsparing fidelity—they weeded the College and University libraries of a vast number of condemned books, and presented as heretical, no fewer than 246 Conclusions drawn from Wicliffe's writings; and not content with this sweeping condemnation, they proceeded to condemn Lord Cobham's opinions respecting the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the Adoration of Images, and Authority of the Church of Rome. Cobham maintained his opinions boldly; but through Arundel's influence was at last committed to the Tower, from whence he was brought before the Consistory in St. Paul's, where in writing he delivered his opinions upon all the controverted points. He was afterwards more strictly examined by commissioners; and after a defence worthy of his great name, and the glorious cause in which he was engaged, he was most unjustly condemned as an heretic;[4] and though for a time he escaped from the hands of his

[4] Lord Cobham was charged by his enemies with having likewise conspired against the King's life and government; and that was made a pretext for the extreme rancour with which his enemies followed up their persecution of him. The historian Hume repeats this base fabrication; but be it remembered that Hume was an infidel, and therefore very readily credited every story that reflected upon Christianity.

enemies, he was eventually *burnt alive* in the most cruel
1417. and atrocious manner, as were many other Gospel witnesses about the same time.

But these shocking barbarities against the Lollards, so far from suppressing, only the rather awakened that spirit of free inquiry which was now shaking Popery to its centre. Other means were also working out the same great end. The Council of Constance, which was held about this period, for the double purpose of healing the schism in the Papacy, and for putting down the Lollards, greatly accelerated the approach of the Reformation of the Church by the very severity of its proceedings. The infamous condemnation of John Huss, in breach of the Emperor's promise of a safe conduct, and the no less unjust sentence passed on Jerome of Prague, were among the least pardonable of its acts. This council also presumed to order the withdrawal of the cup from the laity in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, a *novelty* in ancient practice that gave the greatest offence.

But nothing more strongly marked the rancorous and bitter spirit that directed this council, than its persecution of the dead. Its members did not content themselves with condemning the opinions of the English Reformer, but they commanded that his bones should be dragged from the grave where they had reposed forty years, and should be committed with all his writings to the flames. The Bishop of Lincoln, a heartless bigot, carried the order into execution; opened his grave—reduced his bones to

ashes—and cast the ashes into the river Swift. "This brook conveyed his ashes into Avon — Avon into Severn — Severn into the narrow seas — they into the main ocean: and thus the ashes of Wicliffe are the emblem of his doctrine, which now is dispersed all over the world."[5]

But this attempt to quench the light that Wicliffe had kindled was as pitiful as it was unavailing. In vain did they violate the sanctity of the tomb. "As there is no counsel," says Fox, "against the Lord, so there is no keeping down of verity; it will spring and come out of dust and ashes, as appeared right well in this man. For though they digged up his body, burnt his bones, and drowned his ashes, yet the word of God, and truth of his doctrines, with the fruit and success thereof, they could not burn. These to this day remain."

The eyes of all Europe had been fixed on this council, in the earnest expectation that it would have reformed those abuses in the Church which were now too flagrant not to be universally condemned; unhappily the intrigues of cardinals and bishops prevailed over the wishes of honester and better men; and the council broke up without effecting the wished-for end.

The council of Basle, which was convened for a like purpose by Martin V., and continued its sittings for nearly twenty years, made no further advance in the object of its meeting than in establishing a principle which to this day 1431.

[5] Fuller's Church. Hist.

divides the Romish Church,[6] viz.: that "a General Council was above the Pope." The assertion of this principle led to violent disputes, which only terminated by the deposition of the Pope, and the elevation of Felix V. to the
1439 pontificate, A.D. 1439. Thus the question as to *where* the infallibility of the Church of Rome really exists, was rendered more doubtful than ever, and never can be satisfactorily answered by Romanists.

But the Reformation, though delayed for a season, was still progressing. In England, the blood of the Wicliffites, that "seed of the Church," was beginning to bear its fruit —the cruelty and corruption of Rome had already alienated the attachment of the people—the diffusion of Wicliffe's version of the Scriptures in the vernacular tongue, aided as it was by the providential discovery of the art of print-
1440. ing, A.D. 1440, was opening men's eyes to religious knowledge and truth.[7] A spirit of scriptural inquiry was abroad

[6] Vide Downside Discussion, p. 152 and 162. The English bishops at this council claimed precedency before those of Castile, in Spain, on the ground of "Britaine's conversion by Joseph of Arimathea."—*Fuller's Hist.*

[7] Before Wicliffe's translation of the Scriptures no entire version of them had ever been received by the British Church. Cædmon in the seventh century had paraphrased, in verse, detached portions of them only. Bede translated the Gospel of St. John; and all the Gospels had been translated into Anglo-Saxon, between the reigns of Alfred and Harold. Elfric, the Saxon homiliast, had also translated several portions of both the Old and New Testaments; but the art of printing not being known, the expense and labour of transcribing were so great, that comparatively but few copies could be dispersed abroad beyond the precincts of the monasteries where they were transcribed; and so slow was the process of transcription, that 100 Bibles could not be procured under the expense of 7000 days, or of nearly twenty years' labour. What has not the art of printing since achieved! The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge issued, in the year ending April 1867, the following astonishing number of Bibles, &c.:—

that could now be no longer suppressed, either by the decrees of councils or the bulls and anathemas of Popes. The abominations of Popery were now so glaring, that even Roman Catholic writers, so far from attempting to palliate or deny, openly and deliberately exposed them. But the Popes themselves hastened forward the crisis. Paul II., Sixtus IV., Innocent VIII., and Alexander VI., the last Popes of the fifteenth century, were all depraved and profligate beyond belief. Paul, according to Platina, was infamous for avarice, luxury, gluttony, pride, and oppression. Sixtus was not quite so vicious, but more avaricious and rapacious. Innocent was devoted to luxury, pomp, and pleasures of the most sensual kind. He publicly boasted of the number of *his illegitimate children.*[8]

Alexander, however, exceeded them all in wickedness, 1492
tyranny, and impiety, and even carried his rapacity to such a height that he did not hesitate to issue *dispensation for crimes that cannot be uttered.*

Julius II., with whose pontificate opened the sixteenth 1503
century, was a man in no degree inferior to his predecessors in tyranny, arrogance, or craftiness: he is commonly re-

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Bibles,	191,661
Testaments,	123,997
Common Prayer-Books,	467,650
Psalters and other Books,	3,506,547
Tracts,	3,962,145
Total issue,	8,252,000

[8] This gave occasion for the following Epigram;—

"Octo nocens pueros genuit, totidemque puellas,
Hunc merito poterit dicere Roma Patrem."

presented by even papal writers as a turbulent, cruel, si-
1512. moniacal and designing person; and his immediate successor, Leo X., of the family of the Medicis, so famous for his patronage of learning, was *infamous* for his debaucheries, pride, and perfidy. His ignorance of religion was extreme, and he had, as it is supposed, no belief in the truth of Christianity.

It has already been shown, that as early as the twelfth century, the sale of indulgences, which commenced with the bishops, soon became monopolized by the popes, who, making the crusades a pretence for this abominable traffic, constituted Rome the grand treasure-house, from whence they were issued at certain prices.

The crusades being no longer an available excuse for their sale, other reasons were put forth from time to time for this exaction. But as the depravity of the people was the grand support of their storehouse, it became the interest of the Romish clergy to allow the torrent of wickedness and corruption to flow on unresisted. The unbound-
1517. ed prodigality of Leo had nearly drained the papal coffers—they must be replenished. Under the pretext, therefore, of expediting the building of St. Peter's, this arrogant pontiff caused to be published throughout Christendom his licence for the sale of indulgences, whereby the *remission of all sins, past, present, and to come, however enormous their nature*, was guaranteed to all who were rich enough to purchase them. These indulgences were regularly farmed—"they were sold in gross to the best bidders, and were by

them dispersed amongst the retail pedlars of pardons, who resorted to the public-houses, exhibited their wares, and picked the pockets of the credulous."[9] The management of this wicked traffic in Germany was entrusted to Albert, archbishop of Mentz, who commissioned John Tetzel, a Dominican, to carry the sale into effect: this infamous agent, in selling these indulgences, declared that "the souls of deceased persons would fly from purgatory to heaven, as soon as the jingling of the money, paid for the indulgences, was heard in his box."[1]

But while the Roman pontiff was slumbering on in St Peter's chair, and dreamt least of all of anything to disturb his repose, or to lessen his omnipotence, it pleased God to raise up a man, at this very time, most eminently qualified by his firmness and talents to stem the torrent of papal corruption. Martin Luther, a native of Saxony, and professor of Wittemburg, who had long asserted the doctrines of the free grace of God, and the necessity of righteousness of life, stood forth, the undaunted, uncompromising foe of the sale of indulgences, and in ninety-five propositions maintained the imposture of the whole system, which he sent to the Archbishop of Mentz, with a respectful remonstrance to Leo himself. Had the Pope but listened to his remonstrance, and perhaps restricted only the profane traffic, Luther would scarcely have been heard of beyond the walls of Wittemburg; for that he continued faith-

9 Blunt on the Reformation, p. 98.
1 Spanheim's Eccl. Ann. Cent. XVI.

ful in his attachment to the Church of Rome, even after his Remonstrance, and Theses against the errors of Popery, there can be no doubt; but providentially, the impolitic rashness of Leo, and the frantic violence of Tetzel, drove him to a more determined resistance, and afterwards led him to examine more severely all the other questionable points of Romish faith and discipline. Accordingly he pub-
1520. lished, in 1520, his "Tract against the Popedom," in which, it has been well observed, he draws the sword; and then his "Babylonish Captivity," in which he throws away the scabbard. An open rupture was the consequence, which the violent and imperious conduct of Cardinal Cajetan was little calculated to heal. The thunders of Rome were already heard in the distance—a bull was issued condemnatory of his doctrines, consigning his books to the flames, and denouncing the severest punishments against himself and followers. This bull Luther publicly burnt, and appealed to a general council. A diet was held at
1521. Worms the following year, before which the Reformer pleaded his cause against the Pope's nuncio. He was, however, condemned, and would have suffered as a heretic, but for the powerful support he received from Frederic, the Elector of Saxony. The Reformation, however, still advanced, and Luther and Melanchthon in Germany, and Ulric Zuinglius in Switzerland, continued to fan the flame which all the power of Rome was unable to extinguish. In 1529, at the famous Diet of Spire, the Reformers and their followers acquired the name of "*Protestants*," by

their *protesting* against a violent decree which declared unlawful all changes in doctrine or worship which should be introduced previous to the decision of a general council. And in the year following, at the Diet of Augsburg, they 1530.
presented their celebrated Confession of Faith, drawn up by the learned Melanchthon, in which it was made to appear that the differences between Protestants and the Church of Rome were so many, and of such vital importance, that all hopes of reconciliation were at an end. Decrees, as usual, were passed at this diet against the Protestants, which had no other effect than that of uniting them more closely together for the purpose of mutual defence.

The year, therefore, had not closed when they assembled at Smalcald, and entered into a solemn league for the maintenance of their religious liberties, hence known by the name of the league of Smalcald. The Emperor, influenced by their determined carriage, concluded shortly after a treaty of peace with them at Nuremburg, revoked the decrees of Worms and Augsburg, and left them to the 1532.
full enjoyment of their religious emancipation. Thus the seed which our own Wicliffe sowed 150 years before, found a kindred soil in the fairest realms of Popery. Let us see how it returned in ample measure to bear an abundant crop on British soil.

CHAPTER VI.

"Christianity, that pearl of great price, was hid with trash and filth, which the Romish Church had heaped upon it : our Reformers removed only what loaded and obscured it, and restored it to its first beauty and lustre."

THE proceedings of the German Reformers were watched with the most anxious attention by that portion of the people of England whose minds were imbued with the like spirit, and who only waited for an opportunity to throw off that yoke which neither "they nor their fathers could bear." The bold and heroic stand made by Luther and his followers against the tyranny of Rome was not therefore thrown away—his name was on every tongue—his writings, together with those of Huss, Zuingle, Melanchthon, and others, were eagerly sought after, and as eagerly read. Tracts, with popular titles, such as "A Booke of the *Old* God and New," "The Burying of the Masse," &c., were industriously dispersed among the people. Tindall's Translation of the New Testament also was now widely circulated : and though it was condemned by Lord

Chancellor More, a bitter enemy of the Reformers, and many copies of it were burnt at Paul's-cross by Bishop Tonstall, it was nevertheless multiplied by foreign reprint, everywhere circulated and greedily read. In vain were proclamations issued, and laws enacted against *heretical* books—in vain was the sharpest espionage resorted to—in vain were the fires kindled at Smithfield and the Lollards' Pit, and the utmost refinement in cruelty practised in the burnings that there took place. It was now beyond the power of man to curb the spirit of resistance that was rising in the majesty of its omnipotence against the whole system of Romanism—a higher hand was directing the destinies of England, and was "turning the fierceness of man to its own praise."

Little could it have been expected that Henry VIII., a proud tyrant, a gross profligate, and a zealous Papist, was to be the instrument for effecting the mighty work—little could it have been anticipated that the very man who acquired the title of "Defender of the Faith" for his spirited attack on Luther, should become the champion of the Church of England—and still less credible was it that the very method adopted by the Pope for confirming his power in England, by legalizing the king's marriage with his brother's betrothed wife, Catharine of Arragon, should be overruled by an Allwise Providence, for the final subversion of it in this kingdom! Yet such was the fact. Henry, after an union of twenty years with his wife, began to entertain scruples, whether conscientious or not cannot

be determined, respecting the lawfulness of his marriage.
1529. An accidental expression of his opinion concerning the Pope's authority in these matters, became the means of introducing the illustrious Cranmer to the King's notice. Henry commanded him to draw up the substance of his opinions on the divorce, for his own guidance, and in the mean time awaited the Pope's answer to the appeal which had already been sent to him. Clement VII., full of embarrassment, equally fearful of offending the King of England by an unfavourable answer, as he was the Emperor of Germany, Catharine's nephew, by a favourable one, showed extraordinary dexterity in his management of the appeal. Being a profound dissembler, a subtle, cautious, and evasive politician, he contrived to spin out, most adroitly, six years in fruitless negotiation. The king, on his part, had not been idle: through Cranmer's influence he procured a favourable opinion from almost all the Universities, at home and abroad; armed with which authority, and brooking no longer the Pope's procrastination, he took the law into his own hands—caused the divorce to be proclaimed in his own court, and in open defiance of papal authority, espoused Anne Boleyn, daughter of the Earl of Wiltshire.

Thus was the Rubicon passed, and every subsequent step tended still further to widen the breach between the Pope and the King of England. The death of Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, afforded Henry the first opportunity of rewarding the services of Cranmer by an act of

the royal prerogative. He at once nominated him to the primacy, an appointment that Cranmer declined at first, and accepted most reluctantly at last. Three months after his consecration the primate pronounced the sentence of separation between Henry and Catharine, and confirmed the royal union with Anne Boleyn. 1533.

Thus the question at issue between the Pope and the King was summarily decided; and Henry, *de facto*, proclaimed himself head of the Church in his own dominion.

The English Parliament, which met on the 15th of January in the following year, proceeded to pass a series of acts which formally emancipated the English nation from its further dependence upon the Roman see. 1534.

All pecuniary exactions of the Pope, especially Peter Pence, were wholly abolished, and the rigour of those laws which had been enacted against the Lollards was considerably abated. Cranmer, moreover, with the design of more completely crushing the papal supremacy in England, succeeded in obtaining from the Convocation and the two Universities an all but unanimous denial of any right in the Roman Pontiff to claim a higher jurisdiction in this kingdon than any other foreign bishop.[1]

The King also sent circular letters to the several bishops, enjoining them to take care that the clergy throughout their dioceses explained the propriety and necessity of the changes which had just taken place; and that henceforth, "the true, mere, and sincere word of God,"[2] should alone be preached in

1 Collier's Hist. of the Church, vol. ii. 2 Foxe, 964.

the churches. And by another mandate the Pope's name was ordered to be erased from all devotional books, and "never come to be remembered, except to his contumely and reproach."[3]

1534. The Parliament, which met towards the close of the year, confirmed the decree of Convocation, and by a public act declared that the supreme authority over the Church of England should henceforth be vested in the Crown.

Henry readily accepted, and re-entered on this ancient right of British monarchs, and during the remainder of his reign fully exercised the recovered prerogative.

1536. But, to maintain this right, it was necessary to crush an influence that the bishop of Rome still possessed, in the wealth and numbers of the monastic orders. He began, therefore, with the friars, and at once suppressed 376 of the smaller monasteries, appropriating their estates to himself. The larger monasteries took the alarm, and many of them began to make the best terms for their surrender that the times would allow. The dissolution of so many religious houses proved a serious shock to society generally; for, with all their faults, they had been, to the nation at large, of essential benefit. They had universally occupied the place of almshouses, hospitals, hotels, public libraries, and schools; so that their suppression, as public institutions, convulsed the nation in every quarter, and added a fearful amount of crime to the annual list of delinquency—rapine and murder filled the land—the natural consequence of so

[3] Foxe, 980.

many thousand outcasts being thrown destitute and desperate on society. Cromwell, who had been the king's political adviser in this extreme measure, was frightened at the storm he had himself raised, and therefore advised the immediate sale or gift of the abbey lands and tithes to the nobility and gentry, in order to secure their acquiescence and support. "Thus Popish lands, as it was said, made Protestant landlords; and thus the *lay impropriator*, a character hitherto almost or altogether unknown, took his beginning." That this spoliation of the Church proved, at the time, and again in the disastrous reign of Queen Mary, a main support to the Protestant Church, is unquestionable; but at the present day, the evil resulting from the *inadequate provision for the spritual wants of an increased population*, in numberless instances notoriously traceable to this act of plunder, more than counterbalances the good policy of the original measure.

Cranmer, though a friend to the dissolution of the monasteries, was an enemy to the secular appropriation of the Church endowments and tithes, and, in conjunction with Bishop Latimer, urged the council to apply them strictly to ecclesiastical purposes; but Cromwell's political views little accorded with the religious principles of the primate, who, on this, as well as on many other occasions, was compelled to submit, when resistance was worse than useless.

But while Henry's council was thus intent on stripping the Church of its outward splendour, the real friends of

the Reformation were directing their labours to far more disinterested and important ends. With the wealth of the Church they little concerned themselves; there were abuses and corruptions in the very vitals of the ecclesiastical system, which required a radical and immediate correction. The religion of the Roman Catholic Church, in all its essential points, was still established by law, and it still possessed many zealous advocates in all parts of the country. Cranmer felt that obstacles so serious in their nature must be removed, and that no method was so likely to succeed in doing so, as enabling the people, by an appeal to an authorized standard of faith, accessible to every one, to judge for themselves of the truth of the arguments submitted to them. The Holy Scriptures had hitherto been a sealed book to the great mass of the people. Wicliffe's translation was far too scarce and too costly to meet the public demand. Accordingly the primate turned his first attention to the publication of a new version in the English tongue, and urged the Convocation to solicit the royal authority for that purpose. The King's sanction was easily obtained; and in the following year came forth, most opportunely, an English version, from the pen of Miles Coverdale, afterwards Bishop of Exeter. This work, in which Coverdale had been assisted by many of the Lutheran divines, was printed at Zurich, A.D. 1535, and was dedicated to Henry VIII. The King at first submitted it to some of the bishops, who after a careful examination declared, that though it had some faults, it contained no

heresies. "Then," replied the King, "if there be no heresies, let it go abroad among the people."

The publication of this version was accompanied with injunctions to the clergy, to the effect that "every person (parson) or proprietary of any parish churche within this realme, shall on this side the feast of St. Peter ad vincula (August 1) nexte comming, prouide a boke of the whole Bible, both in Laten and also in English, and lay the same in the quire for everye man that will to loke and reade thereon. And shall discourage no man from the reading any parte of the Bible, either in Laten or English, but rather comfort, exhort, and admonish every man to reade the same as the very word of God, and the spirituale foode of manne's soul, whereby they may the better knowe their duties to God, to their sovereign lord the King, and their neighbour; ever gentilly and charitably exhorting them, that, using a sober and a modest behavioure in the reading and inquisition of the true sense of the same, they doo in no wise stifly or eagerly contend or stryve one with another aboute the same, but referre the declaration of those places that be in controversie to the judgmente of them that be better learned."

The indefatigable Coverdale undertook another edition of this work in the year 1538, at Paris; but through the 1538. influence of the Papists, all this edition was seized and burnt, excepting a few copies. The types and workmen were then removed to London, and in the following year 1539. came forth Cranmer's, or "the Great Bible," corrected by

Coverdale, which was also ordered to be set up in the churches. This event was the subject of so much rejoicing to the archbishop, that he declared it gave him more pleasure than the gift of £1000 would have done.[4] The people equally rejoiced; whoever could, purchased a Bible, otherwise many individuals united, and bought it together. And it was a common thing in churches to see a man reading it aloud, and a crowd of persons around him, listening to the words of life. These Bibles were generally chained to the desk, to prevent their being stolen by the Papists.[5]

In the meanwhile the zealous archbishop set himself diligently to the task of restoring to the people those sound doctrines of faith, which had so long been overlaid by the unscriptural tenets of Romanism. Accordingly he drew up and proposed to the consideration of Convocation, ten articles of faith. These articles were far from being perfect representations of Protestant or Primitive doctrine; for in order to meet the prejudices of the Popish party, they tolerate the use of images in a limited sense—sanction prayers to the saints under some restriction—admit the doctrine of purgatory, penance, and auricular confession—and acknowledge the *actual presence* in the elements of the Eucharist. They reject, however, the doctrine of justification on the ground of *personal merit*, and insist on the faith of a Christian being comprehended in the *canonical*

[4] Strype, p. 58.

[5] These chained Bibles are still to be met with in some country churches.

Scriptures alone. These articles, as might have been expected, satisfied neither party. They contained too much Romanism for the Protestants, and too much Lutheranism for the Papists. It could not well be otherwise—it was impossible to restore the Catholic faith at once to its original purity; a debased and pernicious system of belief had so long, like a baneful mist, darkened the religious horizon of Europe, that the eyes of men were scarcely able to endure at once the bright effulgence of divine truth.

Cranmer was a wise and cautious man, and therefore proceeded discreetly in carrying out the Reformation to the full length he intended. His plans, however, were continually crossed by the capriciousness of his royal master, who suffered himself to be swayed in the moments of his waywardness by the Romish party, at whose head was Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, a bitter enemy of the Reformers. Cranmer had soon reason to lament this fatal influence, for it effected the enactment of that "bloody statute," as it was called, the Six Articles, whereby, 1. The doctrine of transubstantiation was by law established; 2. The communion in both kinds denied to the laity; 3. The marriage of the clergy forbidden; 4. Vows of celibacy declared obligatory; 5. Private masses for souls in purgatory upheld; 6. Auricular confession declared to be necessary. Fire and fagot was the punishment for the transgressors of the first article, and to be hung as a felon for such as should be guilty of the rest.

Cranmer manfully opposed the passing of this infamous

act; but in vain. His voice was overborne by Gardiner and the Howards; and thus did Popery once more, as far as the most pernicious of its doctrines were concerned, lift up its hydra head in England.

This deplorable reaction is attributed by many writers to the rash and hasty dissolution of the monasteries, of which between the years 1537 and 1539 no less than 645 were destroyed, besides ninety colleges, and more than 2000 chantries endowed for the performance of masses for the dead. By the suppression of so many religious establishments, as we have said before, an immense number of dissolute and desperate men were turned adrift on society, whose very existence depended on the re-establishment of the papal supremacy. Whether such was the cause or not, the consequences were most lamentable, and the exultation of the Romish party great indeed. The penal parts of this execrable statute were immediately carried into execution: the prisons of London, according to Fox, were crowded with culprits—Latimer and Shaxton were sent to the Tower—and great numbers for conscience' sake fled for safety to foreign lands.

By the "ill-assorted marriage," moreover, of Henry with Ann of Cleves, occasion was taken to poison the King's mind against the Protestant party, both at home and on the Continent; and so well did the Romish faction push their opportunity, that even Cromwell, the King's favourite minister, fell under his master's heaviest displeasure—was impeached for high treason by the Duke of Norfolk, who

was with Gardiner at the head of the Popish party,—and soon afterwards was condemned and executed for heresy as well as treason. A bitter persecution of other Protestants followed, and fire and sword were once more in active operation throughout England. Thus were the Six Articles as fully effective as the enemies of the Reformation could desire.

The mind of Cranmer, in the meantime, though heavily afflicted, was not subdued; it came out of this fiery trial purified of much of that dross which at this early stage of the Reformation yet debased the sterling metal of his judgment. Such had been the case with Luther and other leaders of this great religious movement: the canker of Romanism had fixed itself so deeply, it could not be at once eradicated.

The effect of the Six Articles on Cranmer was to produce a reconsideration of his religious belief. The doctrine of transubstantiation, that stumbling-block in the Roman Catholic Church, was one on which he had hitherto not made up his mind: he now, therefore, reconsidered the point in all its bearings—tried it by the test of Scripture, of history, and of reason, and at last came to the conclusion, that it is unscriptural, unreasonable, contradictory, and totally unknown to the primitive Church. He, therefore, now totally renounced it. Moreover, when the King commanded certain commissioners to draw up a Summary of Doctrine for the settling of the public mind on matters of faith, Cranmer took special care, in the leading part he

had in drawing it up, to adhere to the Augsburg Confession, in which he was supported by the King. This Summary of Doctrine is Protestant throughout, strictly accordant with the *ancient faith*, and was the basis on which the Thirty-nine Articles were afterwards founded.

Though this Summary was not at the time acted on, its very existence was a severe mortification to the Romish party, and a signal triumph to the Reformers. The Romanists were doomed to experience a further mortification, by a proclamation which was issued at this time for the more general circulation of the Holy Scriptures. Bonner, Bishop of London, a furious papist, was compelled to swallow this bitter pill, and making a virtue of necessity, he raised six Bibles on desks in St. Paul's cathedral, but took special care to counteract this apparent liberality, by affixing over each an admonition against any one's daring to make any comment on passages as they were read: he also prohibited the people from thronging around the desks in "inconvenient numbers." But the people, in utter disregard of the prohibition, crowded the cathedral for the purpose of reading, or hearing the Bibles read, and freely commented upon all passages that condemned the Romish system.

1540.

From this time to the death of Henry the current of the Reformation alternately ebbed and flowed. The discovery of Queen Catherine Howard's infamy led to her own execution, and the disgrace of her powerful family; while the Protestant interest, on the contrary, was further

advanced by the King's marriage with Catherine Parr, widow of Lord Latimer, a staunch Protestant. Cranmer's influence also again prevailed against the machinations of Gardiner, who, when he found he could not suppress the new edition of the English Bible, artfully proposed that about one hundred terms, which he pretended the English language could not express, should be given in Latin.[6] The Convocation, however, would not for a moment entertain so extravagant a proposition, but conceded at once to Cranmer's suggestion, that the revision of the Scriptures should be left to the Universities.

The archbishop next directed the Convocation's attention to the profane honours which were still bestowed on images, and prevailed on them to issue an order to the clergy to clear their churches of the "silken vests and glimmering tapers,"[7] and other unscriptural appendages of these images of wood and stone. Cranmer's suggestion respecting a revision of the ritual was not so readily embraced, except in the expunging the Pope's name, and that of a few popish saints; so that the liturgical books of the former reign continued, with but small alteration, to be still in common use.

But the temple was yet further to be cleansed from Romish pollution, and Bonner—the infamous Bonner—was himself to bear witness to the extent to which at

6 Such, for instance, as ecclesia, pontifex, elementa, adorare, sacramentum, mysteria, simulachrum, sacrificium, satisfactio, peccatum, idolum, idololatria, hostia, &c.—Vide *Fuller's Ch. Hist.*

7 Soames's Hist. of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 505

this time corruption had pervaded the whole body ecclesiastical. In the directions issued to the London clergy, among other things, he *forbids the exhibition of dramatic representations in the churches and chapels.* It appears that these heathenish practices were at the time very prevalent, and under the name of "Mysteries,"[8] the fictions and legendary tales of saints and monks were commonly exhibited, and became at last the readiest way that could be devised for turning the whole system of Popery into ridicule and contempt.

Encouraging as were present appearances to the hopes of the Reformers, there was much to fill them with anxiety. It was but too evident that their capricious monarch was but half a Protestant—some lingering attachment still clung to him in favour of the errors of Popery. Hence he most inconsistently gave his consent to the restriction that was now imposed on the free perusal of the Scriptures, and to a new exposition of
1543. faith and duty, called "The Necessary Doctrine," compiled from a work called the Bishops' Book, published under the approbation of Convocation in the year 1537.

That Cranmer could ever have permitted the promulgation of this "King's Book," as it was called, can only be accounted for on the ground of state expediency or stern necessity; for besides the restriction on the reading

[8] Hence many churches were furnished with crypts (κρυπτα or places of concealment), where these mysteries were partly exhibited, and where many of those juggling tricks with which the priests were wont to impose upon the people were performed without the fear of detection.

the Scriptures, it imposed the seven sacraments—prayers for departed souls—the salutation of the Virgin Mary—and gave the following version of the second commandment:—"Thou shalt not *have* any graven image, nor any likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth, *to the intent to do any godly honour and worship unto them.*"

Let Protestants remember that it is thus, to this day, that Roman Catholics, ashamed of the idolatrous nature of their religion, shrink from the second commandment, and either omit it altogether, or profanely garble and pervert it as stated above.

Gardiner and his party thus triumphed for a little time, in the King's apparent indifference, if not support; and it was but too evident that the moment was seized as a favourable one for destroying the influence of the illustrious primate. A conspiracy, which Gardiner evidently fostered, if he was not the author of it, was basely got up in Kent, for the purpose of inculpating Cranmer; but the honest, straightforward conduct of that innocent man, seconded by the confidence of the King in his unshaken integrity, baffled all the machinations of his enemies, and exposed the infamous part that the Bishop of Winchester had taken in the plot. The result of this failure was, that the archbishop rose higher than ever in his prince's favour and confidence, while Gardiner, in the same proportion, fell into general disgrace.

The exposure of so much unmerited malice towards

him on the part of persons whom he had before favoured, respected, and in some cases loved, weighed heavily on Cranmer's spirits,[9] and determined him to counteract the severity of the Six Articles by some legislative protection. This he accordingly procured without much difficulty from Parliament.

He could not, however, prevent the Romish faction from obtaining an act, wherein an alteration was made in the law of succession in favour of the Princess Mary; and their success in this matter emboldened them to make another attack on the archbishop in Parliament. Fortunately, the King was now quite awake to their wicked intentions, and therefore crushed the conspiracy in the outset.

1545. But it was Cranmer's misfortune, or rather his glory, that no sooner was one Popish intrigue against him crushed, than another was presently concocted. Thus, in the very next year, charges of a serious character were laid before Henry, whereby the primate was accused of having "infected the whole realm with unsavoury doctrine, so as to fill all places with abominable heretics, and that this course was likely to shake the throne itself."[1] The King's friendship, however, and the primate's undaunted firmness, once more extricated him from the clutches of his enemies, and determined him to devote his abilities with even greater energy to the full

[9] Strype's Mem. of Cranmer, p. 173.

[1] Soames's Hist. of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 579.

development of his plans. Retiring to the peace and quiet of his seat at Bekesburne, he there applied himself to the compilation of English Litanies, and the translation of Latin Hymns for the service of the Church. He also directed his attention to the suppression of many ridiculous superstitions which yet were retained in the Church 1540
—such as the *veiling of the Cross in Lent—kneeling and creeping to the same, &c.*, in all which he enjoyed the King's co-operation,[2] who, as his reign drew nearer to its close, seemed anxious to make some atonement for his past neglect, by now forwarding the Reformation by every means in his power. Having once taken his resolution, he made it evident that henceforward his part would not be a doubtful one. He began to put down the Popish party with a firm, if not a cruel hand. Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, became exceedingly odious to him, and was the first to feel his resentment; he was discarded from court, and his name erased from the list of executors to the royal will. The Duke of Norfolk, and his son the Earl of Surrey, were arrested, arraigned on a charge of high treason, and the latter suffered execution on Tower-hill. This was felt by the Romanists to be so fatal a blow to their power, that, bereft of their principal stay in Church and State, they were never, at any time during the remainder of this reign, able to rally their disheartened forces.

Henry was thus permitted by Providence to live long

[2] Collier's Hist., vol. ii. p. 203.

enough to remove out of the way some of the bitterest enemies the Protestant Church possessed. Having at last accomplished as much of the glorious work of reformation as was then needful, he breathed his last, A.D. 1547, "pressing in his last moments the hand of Cranmer, to whom, and whom only, through evil report and through good report, he had ever been faithful and true. To him he bequeathed a church, which was little but a ruinous heap; its revenues dissipated, its ministers divided, its doctrines unsettled, its laws obsolete, impracticable, and unadapted to the great change it had sustained."[3]

Let us follow the Reformers in their mighty undertaking, and let us watch the consummate skill, the cautious discrimination with which the master mind of Cranmer extricated the Church from this labyrinth of confusion and difficulty, removed all her remaining corruptions and deformities, as far as it was prudent to do so, and presented her to the admiration of the Protestant world in that beauty of holiness, simplicity, and independence, which the weakness of princes and the tyranny of Rome had defaced, polluted and destroyed. The Church of England was about to re-enter on her ancient and indisputable birthright.

3 Blunt on the Reformation, p. 194.

CHAPTER VII.

"Our religion has neither novelty nor singularity in it. It is an old religion—it is of age, and can speak for itself. It has been handed down to us through many sufferings and persecutions, and here it is preserved. It contracted, indeed, in the coming down, a great deal of rust, by the falseness and carelessness of its keepers, particularly by the Church of Rome. We scowered off the rust, and kept the metal; *that* is the Romish Religion, *this* is the English. They added false doctrines to the Christian faith; we left the one, and kept to the other: this is ancient, those are new."—*Dr. Hascard's Discourse about the Charge of Novelty.*

In all the transactions of that great crisis we have just been considering—through all the turns and phases of the Church's history in which we have accompanied her during the last reign, so extremely questionable was the sincerity of Henry, that his death was rather hailed as a blessing than felt as an evil to the Church. The friends and conductors of the Reformation, as they had placed no confidence in him, so could they feel no gratitude towards him for any one of those half measures of reform he introduced, by the very tardiness of which he satisfied neither party, whilst he disgusted both. Had the Reformation depended

upon his support alone, we should in all probability at this moment have been groping our way in the gross darkness of popish error, or the light of Gospel truth might only now be bursting on our benighted land. Protestantism, therefore, owes but little thanks to Henry, who, in heart a papist, and in conduct a despot worthy of the Church in which he had been nurtured, rather delayed than accelerated that mighty movement which, from the days of Wicliffe, had, by virtue of its own principles, and not by any external assistance, been working its way slowly but steadily among the great mass of the people.

The King, as well as the Pope, appears to have been swayed throughout the struggle that was so long maintained between them, by political rather than religious motives; and if the latter lost his supremacy over England by an obstinate adherence to state considerations, the former certainly can claim from Protestants no higher praise for legalizing their resistance of papal aggression, than that which was due to a fearless appeal to the rising spirit of the times—a spirit that accorded so exactly with the mind and temper of a capricious tyrant, that he could not avoid taking advantage of it, for it admirably seconded the fierce determination of the monarch to reign over the whole Church and State as the supreme head of both, and independent of any foreign jurisdiction whatsoever. Had Henry imbibed the scriptural doctrines of our pure religion, he would have eminently deserved the title of "Defender of the Faith," for he must have carried the

Reformation far beyond the point at which it was taken up by his successor; but caring little for the purity of a religion whose doctrines convicted him of sin, he was content, not from any love for Protestantism, but hatred of the Pope, to strike down the papal arm that threatened him, and to rid himself of a subjection that he felt to be both degrading and inconvenient. Thanks be to God, therefore, for thus mercifully overruling the angry passions of a cruel and godless prince, to the good of his Church, and the glory of his name! and for raising up, at this critical juncture, a second Josiah for his Church and people in the person of the youthful Edward.

Born and educated with the utmost care in the Protestant faith, and called to the throne of these realms at the early age of nine years, this young and interesting child gave early proof of "the excellent spirit" he was of. Observing the swords that were to be carried before him at his coronation, he remarked to his attendants that one was wanting, and immediately called for a *Bible*. "*That*," he exclaimed, "is the sword of the Spirit; without that sword we are nothing—we can do nothing; by *that* we are what we are this day; under that we ought to live, to fight, to govern the people, and to perform all our affairs —from that we obtain all power, virtue, grace, salvation, and whatsoever we have of divine strength."[1]

During Edward's minority the government of the country was vested in certain commissioners, who took on them-

1 Southey's Book of the Church, vol. ii. p. 102.

selves a difficult duty when they assumed the direction of the public affairs, which, as relating both to the civil and ecclesiastical administration of them, were of the most complicated and discordant character. The Church, at Henry's death, was as has already been shown, in the utmost disorder; all her members were out of joint, and truly might it be said "there was no whole part in her." It required, therefore, the most consummate skill and judgment to reduce so deranged a mass to order, uniformity, and agreement.

The Reformation, as far as it had yet proceeded, had removed but little of that gross weight of error and superstition which still pressed heavily on her doctrine and discipline. An overwhelming load of corruption, the accumulation of 600 years, was yet to be cleared away, and much labour and care were necessary in proceeding with the work of arrangement and restoration. The workmen were worthy of the work, and equal to the labour; they "proceeded with exemplary prudence, precipitating nothing, but gradually unfolding their well-digested plans in such a manner as to afford them a reasonable hope of satisfying their own consciences, and the just expectation of posterity."[2]

The eyes of all Europe were at this time fixed on the proceedings of the Council of Trent, which had now been sitting for two years, with the avowed intention of reforming the Church. Great expectations were raised

[2] Soames's Hist. of the Reformation, vol. iii. p. 51.

among the Roman Catholics, that the measures adopted by the Tridentine fathers would bring back the Protestants to the bosom of the Church; but the feelings and designs of the Roman pontiff were quite in opposition to this expectation. He was resolved to make no concessions, to suffer no innovation, to consent to no change—the Protestants were doomed to be duped—and the advocates for reform in the Church of Rome to be disappointed.

The Church of England having no representatives at this Council, was little affected by the tardiness of its proceedings. The directors of her restoration were not to be diverted from the course they had marked out for themselves, by the impotent denunciations of frantic men—rather were they the more resolved that their own reformation should be no mockery, and that the leaven of Popery should no longer work in the body ecclesiastic of England.

They began, with the head and front of offence—the *idolatry* of the Romish Church. For the effectual rooting out of this corruption, injunctions were issued by the King's command, enjoining the clergy in every quarter to preach against pilgrimages and *image worship;* and at the same time ordering that "all shrines,[3] with their coverings,

3 The offerings made at the shrines of saints were of the most extravagant kind, and grossly idolatrous. At Becket's shrine, in Canterbury Cathedral, was offered in one year £600; while on the altar of Christ the sum did not exceed £2 8s.! Becket's shrine also yearly drew together thousands of pilgrims. "It was built, about a man's height, all of stone, then upwards of timber, plain: within which was a chest of iron, containing the saint's bones, skull and all, with the wound of his death, and the piece of his skull laid in the same wound. The timber work of this shrine on the outside was covered with plates of gold,

tables, candlesticks, trindills, (or rolls of wax,) pictures, and other monuments of feigned miracles, were to be taken away and destroyed," and the images themselves to be treated in the same way. Pulpits were also to be provided, and the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and Ten Commandments, were to be publicly read aloud by the priest.

The people in many parts of England had anticipated this public order: they had already commenced the work of demolition; so that before even the injunctions were issued many churches had delivered themselves from the temptation to idolatry, by casting out their "carved images."

The leaders of the Roman Catholic party, and especially Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, were worked up to a state of anger bordering on madness, by a measure that was to prove so fatal to their power. That bigoted prelate in vain endeavoured to stifle the spreading flame, and by threats on the one hand, poured forth on the "image-

damasked and embossed with wires of gold, garnished with brooches, images, angels, chains, precious stones, and great orient pearls."—*Dart's Hist. of Cant. Cath.*

"They drew up with cords a chest or case of wood, and then there was seen a chest or coffin of gold, and inestimable riches. Gold was the meanest thing that was there. It shone all over, and sparkled and glittered with jewels, which were very precious and rare and of an extraordinary size: some of them were bigger than a goose's egg. The prior took a white wand, and touched every jewel, telling what it was, the French name, the value, and the donor of it; for the chief of them were gifts of monarchs."—*Erasmus.*

Any one would imagine he was here reading a description of a tomb in some Hindoo temple; yet such was in fact a Christian's shrine in a Christian church, where the creature monopolized all the honour, to the exclusion of the Creator ! ! ! and where more miracles were pretended to be performed by the saint's bones than ever had been by the Son of God Himself ! ! !

breakers" in his own diocese, and by arguments on the other, addressed in more cautious terms to Dr. Ridley, and the Protector Somerset, he hoped to persuade men that pictures and images were as serviceable as books, and that there was no more harm in retaining them in the churches, than there was in any man's "wearing a cross about his neck," or "the knights of the garter wearing the George." And true enough, there would not be, except for one plain reason—that the *former are objects of worship*, the *latter of mere ornament or distinction.* "Yea," exclaims Foxe, "but what knight of that order kneeleth or prayeth to that George that hangeth about his neck?"[4]

Such was the state of the public feeling at this time upon this darkest point of Romish superstition. The people were panting for better information; and had it not been for the ignorance of some of the clergy, and the obstinate bigotry of others, they must have long before burst from that spiritual thraldom in which they had for so many centuries been held. The wise and sagacious Cranmer, with the design of meeting the difficulties and remedying the defects of the times, charged himself with the composing of twelve homilies, which he soon afterwards published, to the great comfort and help of every sincere Protestant, but to the evident vexation and chagrin of Gardiner and the papists; for the subjects of these homilies were just such as were required for the advancement of scriptural truth. We may particularly mention the

[4] Foxe, 1227.

homilies on *human depravity*, on *justification by faith*, on *good works*, and on *the great practical duties of Christianity*. But the most important of them all was that on the *necessity of reading the Scriptures*, being the great "stone of stumbling and rock of offence," on which the Church of Rome has always foundered. In this admirable discourse is pointed out, in plain but forcible language, the danger of giving heed to the pretended traditions of men, rather than to the unadulterated word of God. Yes, "let us diligently search for the well of life in the books of the Old and New Testament, and not run to the stinking puddles of men's traditions, devised by men's imaginations, for our justification and salvation. For in Holy Scripture is *fully* contained what we ought to do, and what to eschew, what to believe, what to love, and what to look for at God's hands at length."[5]

For the further enlightening of the public mind, an injunction was issued that every parish should forthwith provide itself with a Bible, and a copy of so much of Erasmus's Paraphrase of the New Testament as had at
1548. that time been translated into English; and in the following year the archbishop authorized the publication of a German Catechism, or rather an Exposition of the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, which under his direction had now assumed an English dress, and was industriously circulated throughout the land.

The necessary consequence of the light that was now

[5] Homily I.

imparted was a growing spirit of inquiry. Men were no longer disposed to submit their judgment in spiritual matters to blind and crafty guides. They began to think and to act for themselves, and to examine, with unsparing diligence, all the several essential points of Roman Catholic belief. But to no point was the public attention more closely directed than to the subject of *the Mass*."[6]

King Henry had directed, by his will, that perpetual masses for his soul should be celebrated; but what was at one time considered by the people to be a religious obligation as an article of faith, was no longer so esteemed. The question was now in every one's mouth, "Are *masses for the dead* authorized by Scripture?" The very inquiry led to great practical good; for towards the close of the year a royal commission was issued to certain prelates and learned divines, commanding them, agreeably to a recent Act of Parliament, to examine the subject of the Mass, and to prepare a new and uniform mode of administering the Holy Communion *in both kinds*.

The commissioners commenced their labours with the most praiseworthy caution and discretion. They first established the scriptural principle, that the sacrament

[6] The "Mass" is the Communion Service, or Consecration and Administration of the Sacrament. "High Mass" is the same service, accompanied by all the ceremonies which custom and authority have annexed to its celebration. In the early ages of the Church the Congregation was dismissed before the celebration of the Lord's Supper, none but the communicants being suffered to remain, according to the discipline of the secret. "Ita missa est," said the officiating minister, and immediately the people withdrew. The term thus employed was used in process of time to designate the solemn service about to be performed. It was called "*Missa*," the *Mass*.—*Cramp's Text Book*, p. 252.

was ordained of Christ to be received, "not of one man for another, but of every man for himself;" that in the mass there is properly no oblation of Christ, he having been *once only* offered on the cross; and that the rite is simply *representative* and *commemorative, not propitiatory* —that it consists wholly in such things as are mentioned in those passages of Scripture which relate to the Eucharist, such as we read in Matthew xxvi. Mark xiv. Luke xxii. 1 Cor. x. xi. and Acts of Apostles ii.—that "solitary masses" are contrary to Scripture and primitive practice —that the people, therefore, should receive the sacrament with the priest—that "masses satisfactory" for departed souls are equally opposed to Scripture, *because Christ is the only satisfaction for all sin.* (Vide Heb. ix. 12, and x. 10.) It was likewise ordered that the Mass should no longer be celebrated in the Latin tongue, and the reservation and hanging up of the Host was to be considered an invention of comparatively modern date.

These points having been established on scriptural grounds, the commissioners next proceeded to arrange the office of the communion.

The groundwork of this office was the Roman missal, a form that is generally believed to have been compiled by Gregory the Great, in the sixth century, though subsequently, like every other office in the Romish Church, adulterated and debased by interpolations and rubrics, enjoining those "bowings, crossings, kissings, finger-washings, and other pantomimic grimaces, which to the

Protestant are so truly frivolous, superstitious, and revolting."

Yet in this service are still to be traced some remnants of primitive and wholesome practice. The ancient Church, in her purer day, divided her mass into two parts—the *Mass of the Catechumens*, and the *Mass of the Faithful*. The Catechumens, who were persons under instruction previous to baptism, were not permitted to be present at the Communion. Accordingly, when that part of the Church service was finished, preparatory to the faithful partaking of the Holy Sacrament, a deacon proclaimed aloud, "Those who are Catechumens, go out!" Then commenced the Communion of the Faithful. In the Roman mass all that part which reaches to the offertory corresponds with the primitive Mass of the Catechumens; the rest of the service to the Mass of the Faithful.

The first part of the Roman Mass contains, amongst other matters, a general confession of his own sins, made by the priest, not to God alone, but to the archangel Michael, to the Virgin Mary, to St. John the Baptist, the Apostles, to all the other dead persons indiscriminately, who have been canonized at Rome, and to the congregation present. He, the priest, then concludes this service, by desiring the prayers of the above persons. There is also a prayer for the priest's own pardon *through the merits of the saints*.[7] The Mass for the Faithful, commencing at

[7] This prayer is omitted in the Breviary which was published in Queen Mary's reign, as being too offensive to the Protestants.—Vide *Soames's Hist. Ref.* vol. ii. p. 253.

the offertory, contains sundry very exceptionable prayers, which are comparatively of modern introduction; also some short devotional pieces, one of which is truly shocking to the pious worshippers of the incarnate God: it is as follows:—"May the Lord receive this *sacrifice* from thy hands to the praise and glory of his own name, for our benefit, and that of all his holy Church!"

But in the Breviary itself there is a prayer that strikes at the very root of Christ's mediatorial office,—"May the *intercession*, we beseech Thee, O Lord, of *Bishop Peter*, thy apostle, render the prayers and offerings of thy Church acceptable to Thee; that the mysteries we celebrate in *his* honour *may obtain for us the pardon of our sins!*"

The next part of the service of the Mass is the preface, which is still retained in the English Communion office, beginning with "Lift up your hearts," and ending at "Glory be to Thee, O Lord, most high." Then follows the Canon of the Mass, or prayers of consecration, which are always read by the priest in a very low voice. These prayers are of considerable antiquity, a circumstance that greatly militates against the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation; as it is most worthy of remark, that they do not, in direct terms, acknowledge that doctrine more than they do those other innovations of the Roman Catholic Church—the invocation of saints, purgatory, solitary masses, &c., which have been grafted upon that Church by the second council of Nice, and the fourth Lateran Council, as well as by those of Florence and Trent. So

that the Romish Church stands condemned by her own ancient testimony—a testimony too, be it remembered, which, with relation to the Canon of the Mass, was pronounced by the Tridentine Fathers to be "*without any error.*"[8]

Such, then, were the materials out of which the Reformers constructed their first communion office in substitution for the mass, retaining all that was good and unexceptionable, but rejecting much that was grossly profane and idolatrous. In the arrangement of the decalogue, moreover, the second commandment, which the Roman Catholics find so troublesome, was now given in its entire and unmutilated form, as it was first written by the finger of God.

This office being at last arranged, was publicly set forth 1548.
on the 8th March 1548, by a royal proclamation, wherein the people were required to "receive it with due reverence, and with such uniformity as might encourage the King to go on in the setting forth godly orders for reformation, which he intended now earnestly to bring to effect, by the help of God."[9]

This office, three years afterwards, underwent a minute revision at the hands of Bucer, who expurgated some Romish leaven that still offended the friends of the Reformation, and reproduced it in nearly the very form in which we now receive it.

[8] "Ab omni errore purum." Vide cap. iv. de Canone Missæ.
[9] Burnett's Hist. of the Reformation, p. 131. fol. edit.

The Reformers, however, by thus beginning with the communion office, were by no means insensible to the still further need of revising and correcting all the offices of the Church. Having, therefore, disposed of this important part, they now turned their attention to the liturgies of the Church. "In order to this, they brought together," says Burnett, "all the offices used in England." These were of great variety, and of high antiquity, derived partly from apostolic use, and partly from the times of the early fathers. The ancient British Church received her first liturgy from the Gallican Church in the fifth century, by the hands of Germanus and Lupus, when they came over, as has been already shown, to deliver the British nation from the errors of Pelagianism. This liturgy closely resembled that of the Church of England of the present day, for it prescribed for the morning service lessons taken from the Scriptures, psalms, and hymns, each concluding with the Gloria Patri, and an interval of silence, during which the congregation were to offer up in secret their particular prayers, and a collect, or general prayer.[1] The silent prayers of ancient times were retained by our Reformers, by means of the *bidding*, or enumeration of persons and things to be prayed for, enjoined before sermons, as still used in our universities. Under the Romish system, hymns consisting of the most despicable monkish rhymes, and short anthems, termed *responds*, were sung after reading only a few verses from Scripture, whereby the spirit

1 Stillingfleet's Orig. Brit. p. 223.

of devotion was continually interrupted. All this trash was now rejected, and a prominent place was given to Scripture selections—a most important *restoration of the ancient usage*, which Augustine found already established among the British Christians, when he came over to convert the Saxons, and which, by the command of Gregory, he did not venture to supersede by the introduction of the Roman office. In process of time, however, when the Saxon became the ascendant party in the State, the Roman form gradually became the groundwork of the British. Still, uniformity, in the several offices, was out of the question, and appears to have been little regarded, if we may judge by their variety—for there were the offices of Sarum, of York, of Lincoln, Bangor, and Hereford.

In examining these several offices, the Reformers discovered a vast accumulation of superstition in them all. The forms for the celebration of baptism and the eucharist were the most corrupted of any. "The consecrations of water, salt, bread, incense, candles, fire, bells, churches, images, altars, crosses, vessels, garments, palms, and flowers, all looked like the rites of heathenism, and seemed to spring from the same fountain."[2]

Great also was the corruption of the Roman offices in the power pretended by the priest, of *granting absolution to the living and the dead*, whereby the common people were necessarily persuaded that "there was a trick for saving souls, besides that plain method which Christ had

2 Burnett's Hist. of the Reformation, fol. p. 136.

taught."[3] On the subject of confession, likewise, the Romish practice was widely different from primitive usage —for in the ancient Gallican office there was a general confession of sin made to *God alone*—but of confession to *saints* and *angels*, there was not a trace to be found.

With the full knowledge of these and similar corruptions in the offices then in use, the Reformers set their hands heartily to the work of compilation and restoration, resolved to "retain such things as the primitive church had practised, but cutting off such abuses as the latter ages had grafted on them."

They began with the morning and evening service, and took for their groundwork the ancient liturgies of which we have already spoken, the Roman Catholic breviary, and the liturgy that Bucer and Melanchthon drew up for the archbishop of Cologne. Out of these they compiled the two services in the form in which we now find them, excepting that they contained neither the introductory sentences, the exhortation, confession, nor absolution. They commenced at once with the Lord's prayer. In these services, as well as in each of the others, the rule was rigidly adhered to, of discarding everything that savoured of superstition, and of admitting nothing that had not the warranty of Scripture. "Prayers to the saints were expunged, and all their lying legends."[4] And to "the new work were transferred those features only of

[3] Burnett's Hist. of the Reformation, p. 137.
[4] Southey's Book of the Church, vol. ii. p. 109.

its immediate predecessors, which are among the venerable remains of the ancient Latin Church."[5]

As in the instance of the communion service, so also in the other offices of the Church, the revising and correcting hand of those foreign divines who were at the time in England, was afterwards employed in rendering the work still more complete—for by their suggestion the introductory sentences, the exhortation and confession, were added—and the absolution, borrowed from Calvin's Liturgy, but really composed by its editor Valerandus Pollanus, was for the first time subjoined, some of its harsher expressions being suppressed or qualified.

It is the opinion of those who are the most conversant with the subject, that the morning service consists of two others now united:—viz., the morning prayer, as one—the litany and communion, as the other—the former taking the place of the Romish matins, the latter of high mass. The litany, as we now find it, subsequently underwent but little change: it, however, contained one suffrage which was afterwards omitted, as harsh and superfluous! "From the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities, good Lord deliver us!"

The burial service, as then arranged, was nearly the same as it is at present. The spirit of the departed was, indeed, commended to God's mercy; but then the minister was directed to say in another place, "We trust thou hast brought his soul, which he committed into thy holy

[5] Soames's Hist. of the Reformation, vol. iii. p. 369.

hands, into sure consolation and rest,"—words which most pointedly are opposed to the doctrine of purgatory.

The labours of the liturgical commissioners were now completed, and thus was at length produced that "excellent form of sound words," "the Book of Common Prayer, and offices of the Church of England," gathered with the greatest caution from the ancient liturgies, and from the Romish formularies as well, in which the Reformers retained the "solid gold" of antiquity, and discarded only "the vile tinsel" with which they had been overlaid in modern times, "of ridiculous and idolatrous rubrics, appeals to the dead, the mention of human merit, and lying legends."[6] And thus also was restored to England a form of divine worship, as nearly resembling that which was enjoyed by the British Church of old, as was thought to be compatible with the taste, and feeling, and prejudice of the age.

1549. On the 15th January, 1549, this Book of Common Prayer was, by an act of the Legislature, for the uniformity of the church service, publicly enjoined on the clergy and people, to be used by them throughout England in their own language. The two universities were permitted to use it, the communion service being alone excepted, in Latin or Greek. This act also contained a clause, legalizing the use of psalms and prayers taken out of the Bible, provided none in this book were omitted. This proviso "was for the singing psalms, which were translated into

[6] Soames's Hist of the Reformation, vol. iii. p. 369.

verse, and, much sung by all who loved the Reformation, were in many places used in churches."[7] No English version of singing psalms appears to have been in use before the end of Henry's reign—but in 1549 we find two attempts made to reduce them to something like English rhythm—the first by Sir Thomas Wyatt, and the next by Sternhold, whose original collection of fifty-one psalms forms the basis of that which is still in use under the name of the Old Version.

The new liturgy, though its adoption was not compulsory before Whitsunday, was yet in general use on Easter-day, when the people heard, for the first time in their own tongue, the intelligible language of prayer and praise.

There were among the clergy, however, many who could not or would not give up their old practices; they contrived to evade the law, by chanting or muttering the service—by innumerable crossings, kissings of the altar, breathing on the bread, and other like absurdities. They even converted the new communion service into a soul mass, and thus continued to make a base profit of the purgatorial doctrine.

To counteract these shameful evasions and abuses, a royal visitation was commanded, and very strict regulations promulgated against even the very name of the mass; it was also ordered that the muttering of prayers over beads should no longer be tolerated—that the doctrine of purgatory and of the invocation of saints, should no more be

[7] Burnett's Hist. of the Reformation, fol. p. 152.

admitted—that bead-rolls, relics, images, lights, holy bells, palms, ashes, candles, creeping to the cross, oil, chrism, altars, agnus dei,[8] and other such vain superstitions, should be for ever abolished—and that the clergy should no longer reserve and carry the sacrament to sick persons with candles and bells. The visitors appointed for the suppression of these "fooleries" were likewise specially commanded to put down all those gross abuses which at this time prevailed in churches and church-yards, wherein, even during divine service, markets were held, and bargains openly made.[9]

The visitors, on concluding their mission, made a favourable report with respect to the progress of the Reformation among the people, having occasion to present but one case of open defiance, which was that of the Princess Mary, who persisted in her practice of having the mass said in her own house. The council commanded her to conform to the established order of public worship; but this command she refused to obey, and indignantly appealed to the Emperor, her cousin, for protection. The council, rather than bring matters to an extremity, left her unmolested.

1549. Her emissaries, however, and the popish faction generally, still exerted a powerful and baneful influence in many parts of the country, and succeeded in driving the

[8] An Agnus Dei is made of wax, balsam, and chrism, and has stamped on it the image of the Lamb of God. It is consecrated by the popes in the first and every seventh year of their pontificate, and worn as a sort of amulet.

[9] Burnett, p. 153.

peasantry, in many of the southern and western counties, into open revolt. In Devonshire, where the people were "generally inclined to the former superstition,"[10] as also in Cornwall, the revolt of these deluded persons began to assume a formidable character. The struggle for which they began to arm themselves was looked upon as a religious crusade, in which they were called upon to maintain their faith against the "accursed heretics." Accordingly, "crosses and candlesticks, bread and salted water," "the pix, with its included wafer, under a canopy in a cart, attended the movements of these infatuated insurgents,"[1] who were led from the western parts by Humphrey Arundel, a Cornish gentleman of good family, but of a rash and obstinate disposition. Lord John Russel was despatched against them, and on arriving at Honiton, and finding the rebels too strong for him to attack, entered into a negotiation. Arundel, however, refused to lay down his arms unless his demands, consisting of eight articles, were first conceded. These articles embraced all those leading corruptions of the Romish Church which the Reformers had been taking so much pains to remove; and moreover embraced the re-enactment of the Six Articles, commonly called "the Bloody Act." On the rejection of these terms the insurgents laid siege to Exeter, and from the supineness of their enemies, now rose in their demands, insisting on the acceptance of seven additional articles. Lord Russel having obtained reinforcements, attacked

10 Burnett's Hist. of the Reformation, p. 168. 1 Foxe, 1190.

them at Fennington Bridge, defeated them, and on their rallying again on Clyst Heath, routed them with great slaughter.[2] Arundel, and nine rebellious priests, were taken and executed, and the insurrection generally put down throughout the west and north of England.[3]

These rebellious movements were without doubt fomented, if not effected by the popish faction, whose leading men were now universally become objects of the greatest mistrust. But no one gave greater cause for suspicion than Bonner, Bishop of London, one of the most cruel, crafty, and bigoted prelates that ever disgraced the name of Christianity. Outwardly he pretended to conform to the new order of things, while all the time he was secretly encouraging, by every means in his power, those very corruptions and abominations which the Reformers had swept from the Church. The council were not to be deceived by appearances: they summoned the mitred hypocrite before them—ordered him to preach at Paul's Cross—to administer the communion at all such times as mass was wont to be celebrated—to inculcate submission to his sovereign, though a minor—and to be very careful of maintaining the due observance of order and discipline among the clergy of his diocese.

With regard to the subject-matter of his sermon, he was commanded to set forth the wickedness of rebellion, and the superiority of practical holiness to the vain rites and ridiculous ceremonies of religion. Bonner accordingly

[2] Fuller's Ch. Hist. 397. [3] Strype's Eccl. Mem. ii. 281.

addressed the people, but in a very vague manner, on the subject of rebellion, most craftily avoided the other subject altogether, and introduced a vehement defence of the exploded doctrine of transubstantiation. Among his hearers were Hooper and Latimer—the former afterwards Bishop of Gloucester—the latter Bishop of Worcester. On hearing the sermon, these illustrious divines at once denounced the preacher to the king in council. The bishop was summoned before a commission, composed of the primate (Cranmer), Bishop Ridley, and five others. On appearing before them, the insolence and levity of Bonner were almost incredible, and exhibited him in a character so truly contemptible, that we should have been disposed to have pitied the man, had not his subsequent brutality, during the Marian persecution, compelled us to abhor the prelate. The contempt he at first showed for the court obliged them to commit him for some time to the Marshalsea prison; but so far was he from being subdued by this correction, that as the inquiry proceeded, he the more increased in insolence and vulgarity.

After a most patient investigation, and a defence on his part which savoured more of invective than argument, the commissioners deprived him of his bishopric, and recommitted him to prison, where his behaviour discovered no one trait that was worthy either of a subject or of a Christian bishop.[4]

The fall of Bonner was a heavy blow to the Romanists,

[4] Burnett calls him a "*brutish and bloody*" "*fierce and cruel man.*"

but was shortly after more than counterbalanced by the successful intrigue that led to the disgrace and ruin of the Protector Somerset—a man who, with all his faults, was ever a firm and devoted friend of the Reformation. But his crimes, if they could be so called, (for the most his enemies could allege against him was an undue "greediness of popularity," that led him occasionally to exceed the law,) were eagerly caught at and magnified by his opponents, and his downfall was hailed by them with the utmost exultation, as the forerunner of the immediate restoration of the popish religion.

The Earl of Warwick, his successor, was supposed to be friendly to their cause, and was immediately addressed by Bonner and Gardiner, the two deposed bishops, with the full persuasion that they might reckon on his support. But Warwick was too wary a politician to take a single step that would be displeasing to the young king, whose whole heart he knew was engaged in the cause of the Reformation. He therefore, without hesitation, rejected their appeal, renounced the popish party, and entered warmly into the further progress of the Church's renovation.

1549. It was about this time that the cause of the Reformation was nearly overpowered in Germany. By the artifice of the Emperor Charles, the Diet held at Augsburg had sanctioned a plan of his, called the "Interim," for allaying the religious heats of the empire, until such time as they could be settled by a General Council. This plan, which

was nothing less than the restoration of Popery in all its deformity, was nobly rejected by the Elector of Saxony; but unhappily, so great was the power and severity of the Emperor, that he bore down for a time all opposition.

The leaders of the Protestant party, despairing of their cause, naturally turned towards England, and on her friendly shore sought that protection which was denied them in Germany. Accordingly, at the invitation of Cranmer, Martin Bucer, and Paul Fagius, Peter Alexander, Bernardin Ochin, Peter Martyr, and others, found an asylum under the hospitable roof of the Primate. Soon after their arrival, Bucer was advanced to the divinity chair at Cambridge, and Peter Martyr to that of Oxford.

The latter appointment occasioned warm and violent disputations in that university, on the subject of transubstantiation, the corner-stone of the papal system, in which the Florentine Professor maintained most triumphantly, against Dr. Wm. Tresham, the three following propositions:—

I. That the Eucharist is no Transubstantiation.

II. That the body and blood of Christ are not present under the species of bread and wine.

III. That the body and blood are united to the elements sacramentally.

Dr. Tresham was undoubtedly an erudite scholar, and able disputant; but he did not acquit himself on this occasion to the satisfaction of either himself or his party,

as may be gathered from the scurrilous abuse[5] that he poured out on the professor, after the discussion was concluded, and more particularly by the mean attempt he made to bolster up his weak and inconclusive arguments by the publication of additional matter. "*He confesses he has added some supplemental passages which slipped his memory in the disputation, and he hopes it is defensible enough to make use of recollection, and fortify the argument.*"[6]

Martin Bucer also, from *his* divinity chair, was not behindhand in stoutly maintaining the Protestant cause against the Romanists, and argued, with equal success, the following points, viz.:—*the sufficiency of the canonical books of Scripture for teaching all things necessary to salvation—the liability of every Church to err in matters of faith and practice—and the efficacy of faith alone for man's justification.*

While the public attention was thus drawn to these discussions, and the light of scriptural Christianity was already dissipating the yet lingering clouds of popish superstition, the Reformation was still progressive, and many important points continued to engage the anxious consideration of its English friends. The fall of the protector Somerset, who had been so instrumental in settling the restored service, gave currency to the most sinister

[5] "Senex quidam delirus est, subversus, impudens, errorum magister in signis, Petrus Martyr Vermilius," &c. Epist. Tresham.

[6] Collier's Hist. of the Church, ii. 275.

reports, and an opinion very generally prevailed that the discarded service would be restored. The Council, without loss of time, put an effectual stop to these vain hopes, by writing, on Christmas-day, to all the bishops, to this effect: that inasmuch as the English service was drawn up by learned men, according to Scripture, and the use of the primitive Church, that all clergymen therefore should deliver up such "Antiphonales, Missals, Grayles, Processionals, Manuals, Legends, Portuasses, Ordinals," &c., as were in their hands, according to the several uses of dioceses—that they should observe the one uniform order of service as by law established—and that they should be particular in providing bread and wine for the communion on Sunday. An act soon afterwards was passed, confirming this order, and directing the destruction of all such Romish books, and the total demolition of all images of saints yet standing in churches and chapels.

But a far more serious subject engaged the close attention of the Reformers at this time, and was conducted with the same caution and judgment that had hitherto marked the progress of the Reformation. By a recent Act the King was empowered to authorise the compilation of a new Ordinal; and for that purpose he directed the same commissioners[7] as had compiled the Book of Common Prayer, to undertake this important charge. The commissioners cheerfully undertook the task, and commenced and carried through the work with a careful but unsparing hand.

[7] Six prelates, and an equal number of inferior divines.

On examining the Romish Ordinal, it was found to be cumbered with an undue number of minor orders equally unknown to Scripture and to the primitive Church, consisting of subdeacons, acolyths, exorcists, readers, and porters. Such offices were, therefore, at once cut off as unscriptural innovations, and the orders alone retained of archbishop and bishop, priest and deacon. With the minor offices were also rejected those various superstitious usages which in later ages had been added, for the mere pomp of the ceremony and exaltation of the priesthood.

Following closely the rules of the primitive Church, as they stand recorded by the fourth Council of Carthage, A.D. 398, the commissioners proceeded on this plain and scriptural principle,—that *prayer, and the imposition of hands, are the essentials of ordination.* Hence, in the service for the consecration of bishops, the rubrics were struck out which directed the use of gloves, sandals, mitre, ring, or crosier. In that office, and in the one for the ordination of priests, were omitted also the anointing with the chrism, the delivery of consecrated vestments, and of the chalice and paten, with the power of offering sacrifice to God, and of celebrating masses for the living and the dead,—all of which were innovations of the tenth century, when the doctrine of transubstantiation was first introduced.

In the place of these unwarranted innovations, it was directed that a Bible alone should be delivered into the hand of every one ordained to the office of priest, as significantly admonishing him of the nature of his high

commission, viz.: to *dispense the word of God freely among the people*, and *duly to administer those two only sacraments which that word enjoins*, as *being generally necessary to salvation*. According to the Romish Ordinal the bishop alone laid his hand upon the head of the priest; in this the Reformers, taking for their model the ordination of Timothy (1 Tim. iv. 14), and the common practice of the ancient Western Church, made an important alteration, by enjoining all priests who may be present to unite with the bishop in laying on of hands.

In that part of our ordination service which is interrogative, there is likewise an essential departure from the Romish form. In that, the deacon is asked no question—the priest nothing but what relates to canonical obedience—and the bishop only what refers to his belief in the Trinity, and in the divine origin of Scripture. In the reformed ordinal, on the contrary, a series of most grave and weighty questions are applied to each order of the ministry, in which their belief in the canonical Scriptures, as the *only* and *sufficient rule of faith*, forms a prominent feature. The only question that has excited any scruple in the minds of conscientious churchmen, is the first that is put to the deacon—"Do you trust that you are inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost to take upon you this office and ministration, to serve God for the promoting of his glory, and the edifying of his people?" To which he answers—"I trust so." But surely no seriously-disposed person, who acts by his own deliberate choice and

freewill, and with the honest intention of doing his duty, God helping him both to will and to do, need be afraid of expressing his simple "trust" that he is guided by God's Spirit in what he is doing! and no more does he express —it is a *hope* that his deliberate act, approved and suggested by his own conscience and judgment, and confirmed by the direction of his studies and manner of life, is an evidence to him that God is willing to accept his services on trial in the sacred vineyard. Whoever presumes to lay his hand on the holy ark, with other feelings and other intentions, has "neither part nor lot in the matter." He must look to the fearful consequences, and be prepared to sustain the awful responsibility in his own person, and not to impugn the character of the service.

But one more important part of the ordination service remains to be noticed—namely, the adoption from the Romish ordinal of very nearly the same words with which the apostles were commissioned by the Great Bishop of our souls[8]:—"Receive ye the Holy Ghost—whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained."

In adopting these words of Christ Himself, the Reformers disclaimed the arrogant pretensions of the Church of Rome, in the power claimed by the priesthood of irrespectively absolving the people from their sins. The Protestant "candidate for sacerdotal ordination" is in effect admonished, that unless the imposition of hands be attended

[8] St. John xx. 22, 23.

by faith, repentance, and prayer on his own part, assuredly no spiritual gift is communicated to him. He is also taught, by the principles of his Church, and he is bound to teach others, that his "absolving voice is only ministerial, and that all who desire to hear from his lips the assurance of pardon, must come with the preparation of a truly contrite heart."[2]

This limitation draws a wide distinction between the respective commissions of the Romish and Protestant Priest—for that such is really the sole authority claimed by the latter, is evidenced by the very terms adopted in the Absolution that follows the Confession in the daily services of the Church of England, where the priest's words are simply *declaratory* of God's pardon to *every penitent believer*, and nothing more—and in the same sense, and with precisely the same limitations, must be understood the form of absolution contained in the Office for the Visitation of the Sick, which is derived from the words of Christ, when He conferred on St. Peter, and the rest of the apostles, the power of the keys: "Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven."[1] The Romanist, in assuming to his Church the power he has done, from these words of Christ, has strangely erred in this point, as he has in a multitude of others, from not knowing the Scriptures—for what is this power that has

[2] Soames's Hist. of the Reformation, vol. iii. p. 533.
[1] Matt. xvi. 19.

been conferred on the Christian priesthood of *binding* and *loosing* men on earth? The expression has strictly a reference to the *same power* conferred on the Jewish priesthood under the Levitical law, and no more. What was that power? By the Levitical law[2] the priest was to be the judge, as to whether a man was a leper or not. If he was, then the priest bound him, and, pronouncing him to be unclean, locked him up. But if, after seven days, on exhibiting himself to the priest, the priest judged the leprosy to be healed, he (the priest) then pronounced the leprosy to be *clean*, and *loosed* him from the bonds wherewith he was bound, unlocking, it might be, the doors of his prison. Thus Christ's expression, of giving to the Church "the keys of the kingdom of heaven," becomes intelligible, and simply figurative; and thus the power of the priest with respect to the leper was only declaratory—he "uncleaned" the man, as the word in the original might be translated, by pronouncing him "unclean"—he "cleaned" him, by pronouncing him "clean." So likewise the commission given by Christ to his apostles, of *binding* and *loosing*, was of the same declaratory and ministerial nature. The sinner, as long as he continues in his sins, is to be pronounced by the priest *unclean*, bound under the chain of sin,[3] and in the bondage of corruption, and therefore

[2] Levit. xiii. 3. וְרָאָהוּ הַכֹּהֵן וְטִמֵּא אֹתוֹ׃

[3] The following beautiful prayer of our Church is in exact accordance with the figure here used by Christ:—"O God, whose nature and property is ever to have mercy and to forgive, receive our humble petitions; and though *we be tied*

judicially shut out from the liberty, and light, and privileges of the children of God. While, on the other hand, he who confesses his sins, and, by a sincere repentance and lively faith, exhibits a true conversion of heart, may be pronounced by the priest as clean every whit—loosed from sin, delivered from the condemnation of sin, and once more restored to the glorious liberty of the children of God. This is the legitimate use of the "keys"—this is truly to proclaim "deliverance to the captives, the opening of the prison doors to them that are bound"—this is the most blessed and delightful of all the duties of the Christian minister![4]

Is it not, then, plain, that the absolving power of the Christian priesthood is strictly limited to a *declaration of God's forgiveness on certain conditions*—and is it not blasphemy of the deepest dye, in the Romish priest, to pronounce a *sinner's pardon absolutely from himself*, whereby he arrogates to himself the honour that belongs to God alone, "opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God" (2 Thess. ii. 4); whereas God has declared "he will not give his glory to another." (Isa. xlii. 8, also xlviii. 11.[5])

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and bound with the chain of our sins, yet let the pitifulness of thy great *mercy loose us*, for the honour of Jesus Christ, our Mediator and Advocate. Amen."

[4] Vide Appendix, No. VI.

[5] In no respect has the commission of the keys been more abused by the

With the completion of the ordinal terminated the labours of the liturgical commissioners; to whose wisdom, prudence, and perseverance, the Church of England stands indebted for that system of public worship which, as based on the word of God exclusively, may safely challenge every other form in the Christian world. So scriptural is its language, and so devotional its spirit throughout, that, while it secures the admiration and attachment of its friends, it powerfully commands the respect of its enemies; and, by the tone of moderation that pervades every portion, the two extreme parties in religion can all unite in appealing to its peculiar adaptation to their several wants.

Thus far, then, have we accompanied those illustrious pioneers of our Church, the Reformers, in their great and godlike work of cleansing the temple of God, and of presenting to their people their national Church restored to its original simplicity and purity, and purged of that gross corruption and idolatry under which it had so long been oppressed.

It was not to be expected, that a transition so great in the religious institutions of the country could be effected without a corresponding change in public opinion; or that so complete a revolution in the national system of religion

Church of Rome than by the power assumed by the Pope of being able to change the commandments of God, and of absolving from oaths and vows made to God, whereby he exalts himself above God, and thus takes to himself the undoubted character of "that man of sin" (2 Thess. ii. 4), who was to be "revealed." For whosoever pretends to the power of absolving men from fidelity and obedience to God, must, in his own estimation, be *greater than God. That man is Antichrist.*

could be consummated, without the growth of a plentiful crop of polemical agitation. A spirit of religious inquiry succeeded to a spirit of slumber; and men's minds, so long entranced by the fatal enchantments of the Romish priesthood, were now broad awake, and in full and active operation, earnestly seeking, by such helps as were at hand, after being tossed to and fro on a sea of doubt and perplexity, to find repose at last on some fixed and certain basis. Cranmer had long watched, with anxious solicitude, the feverish excitement, and, like a prudent pilot, was determined to put his vessel in the best trim for meeting, on the one hand, the storms already blowing from Rome, and, on the other, the impetuous current of private judgment, which the Reformation had at length emancipated. He saw that it was not enough to have cleansed and renovated the Church, unless she could be furnished with the means of proclaiming her doctrines clearly, definitely, and with authority, and at the same time of securing an uniform system of public instruction for her members, who would otherwise be confounded and perplexed by the discordant sentiments that would everywhere flow from the pulpits.

From the earliest foundation of the Christian religion, a standard of faith for the government of the Church was ever considered most necessary, and "a Form of doctrine"[6] was as freely received and "obeyed from the heart" by the Roman converts, as "the Form of sound Words"[7] was earnestly pressed by St. Paul on the acceptance of Timothy.

[6] Rom. vi. 17. [7] 2 Tim. i. 13

These "Forms," whatever they were, appear to have been received by all the Apostolic Churches, but probably were not all expressed in the same words. In process of time, when the Church extended herself on all quarters, it was found necessary to provide a settled standard of Christian doctrine. Accordingly, we find that at the first council held at Nice by Constantine, A.D. 325, a Confession of Faith was agreed upon. Subsequent councils followed the same course; and the celebrated Council of Trent, which was now sitting, were engaged in the same work, though with a very different view.

The German Reformers felt the like necessity, and had their separate Confessions; such were those of Wirtemberg, Augsburg, &c. But these Confessions were, after all, not sufficiently comprehensive for universal use. The Continental and British Reformers, therefore, were extremely desirous that a Congress might be assembled, consisting of delegates from all the Protestant states, who should draw up a general creed, that should unite conflicting opinions, and bind the whole Reformed Church under one uniform system of religious belief. Cranmer and his royal master were no less earnest in this matter than Calvin and Melanchthon, and a correspondence was opened on the subject between the latter and the former; but whether from the impracticability of uniting discordant opinions, or from the intrigues fomented by the Council of Trent,[8] the negotiation failed altogether. The archbishop, therefore, des-

[8] Vide Strype's Mem. of Cranmer, p. 207.

pairing of success on so wide a plan, contracted his views considerably, and proceeded with the preparation of Articles 1551.
for the Church of England alone.

Acting on the liberal plan of framing such a formulary as should not be too exclusive, he wisely designed the first articles which he drew up to be of so general a nature, as to be admissible by even extreme parties in the Church. As neither the Calvinist nor the Arminian could arrogate to himself an exclusive interest in them, so neither of them could justly take offence at any doctrine which they established.

Whether Ridley, Bishop of London, had any share in their compilation, is uncertain, though it is generally supposed that he was consulted by Cranmer on the occasion.

Melanchthon, the principal representative of the Lutherans, and the great opposer of Calvin, no doubt advised and influenced the archbishop in their construction, which alone sufficiently refutes the idea of their having a Calvinistic tendency; and if Cranmer was the chief compiler, his well-known principles are ample proof of their anti-Calvinistic character—for all his writings exhibit him as "the advocate of *universal redemption*, and an *election through baptism*, to the privileges of the Christian covenant."[9]

[9] "If the Compilers of the Articles," observes Mr. Le Bas, "intended them to be Calvinistic, they must have purposely intended to throw contempt on their own liturgy. A collection of offices like ours, followed up by a decidedly predestinarian confession, would have been a perfect monster. Any one who knows the cautious character of Cranmer never could believe this. His mantle fell at length upon a Protestant successor, animated by a spirit similar to his own. Early in the reign of Elizabeth the Articles were revised, under the

However, whether Cranmer was their sole or joint author, and whether he purposely or not meant them to speak equivocally on controverted points of faith, he seems to have succeeded admirably in his design, and to have secured the entire approbation of his sovereign and most of the bishops. Yet excellent as was the work, it was by no means perfect.

1552. Towards the end of the year 1552, the archbishop was directed to recast it on a larger scale—which was accordingly done—fresh matter was added—certain amendments made—and titles were now appended to the several divisions. In this form, before the conclusion of the year, Cranmer returned to the Council forty-two articles for the inspection of Convocation, and accompanied them with a letter, in which he recommended that subscription to them should be made obligatory upon the whole clerical body.

1553. To these articles Convocation gave their consent, and in the spring of the following year the clergy were called

superintendence of Archbishop Parker; but even then no infusion of Calvinism was admitted. The source of the corrections was, manifestly, the Confession of Wirtemberg, (a compendium of the Lutheran Confession of Augsburg,) drawn up in 1551, for the purpose of being exhibited to the Council of Trent, and not impressed with a single lineament of Calvinism. In the course of time, however, men of a different spirit succeeded. The Calvinistic fever became, for awhile, almost epidemic; and towards the end of Elizabeth's reign, certain of our leading divines (the Patrons of the Lambeth Articles), with our truly Catholic liturgy before their eyes, laboured to perfect our Articles by an ample introduction of the Genevan doctrine. A subsequent testimony to the liberal spirit of this confession was borne at a later period, by the Westminster Divines, whose first attempt at remodelling the Church was a review of the Articles, and this too, with the avowed design of making them more determinately in favour of Calvinism; a design which was still cherished by the same party at the celebrated Savoy Conference after the Restoration."—*Life of Cranmer*, vol. ii. p. 94.

upon by a royal mandate to subscribe them. These forty-two articles underwent little or no alteration till their revision by Archbishop Parker, when, by the wise omission of the four last, and some slight alterations in the wording of others, they were republished under the authority of Queen Elizabeth, in nearly the form in which we now receive them.

Thus was the last great work accomplished that was to give adhesion, unity, and stability to the Reformed Church of England, and to sever for ever that heavy chain of bondage and delusion by which she had been bound to the papal car. "Had those excellent persons" (the Reformers), remarks Paley, "done nothing more by their discovery than abolished an innocent superstition, or changed some directions in the ceremonial of public worship, they had merited little of that veneration with which the gratitude of Protestant churches remembers their services. What they did for mankind was this—*they exonerated Christianity of a weight that sunk it.*"[1] The Church, disencumbered of that gorgeous apparel which the vanity of an ambitious priesthood had thrown around her, and stript of those meretricious blandishments which but ill concealed her faded beauty, now shone forth like the orb of day after a long night of storm and darkness—renovated in her discipline—reformed in her doctrine—and simplified in her ritual. "Holiness unto the Lord" was once more inscribed upon her walls—once more could

1 Address to the Bishop of Carlisle, in his Prin. of Mor. Phil.

she challenge the respect and love of her children, and claim a name and a place the most distinguished among the purest branches of the Protestant Church.

That so fair a fabric should have arisen out of the rude and disorderly materials that offered themselves to its wise master-builders—that they should have so quickly and skilfully reunited in one harmonious whole, parts so disjointed, and elements so discordant,—to what can we ascribe a work so mighty—a reproduction so wonderful, but unto the counsel of Him "who spake, and it was done —who commanded, and it stood fast?" How shall we account for the mighty victory of truth over error, accomplished by means so apparently inadequate to overcome long established prejudices and deep-rooted attachments, but by referring all to Him, "who frustrateth the tokens of liars—who turneth wise men backward, and maketh their knowledge foolish?" For "walk about our Zion, and go round about her, mark well her bulwarks, consider her towers" and you will behold an edifice (O how unlike what Popery had made it!) now restored to the measure of that "Pattern" after which it was originally founded. "Alike removed from ostentation and meanness, from admiration of ornament, and disdain of it," you will behold her "foundations built upon apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone,"—you will see her walls cemented with the blood of martyrs, and engraven with the names of saints and confessors—you will behold a Church "retaining so much reverence for ancient

customs and ancient forms, as not rashly to abolish them, and only as much as not to adopt them blindly."[2] Three centuries have rolled away since God thus visited his people —and though convulsions have rent the civil polity of England, and the ark of God fell for a time into the sacrilegious hands of ungodly men, yet has the Church remained unshaken by the storms without, and by the treachery of false brethren within. She still continues to lift her head among the nations, and as the depository of the pure word of God stands prominently forward in these stirring times of religious and political excitement, the great bulwark of Protestantism—the hope and glory of Christendom.

2 Blunt's Hist. of the Reformation.

CHAPTER VIII.

"Stand ye in the ways, and see, and ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls."
—JEREM. vi. 16.

IN bringing this sketch of the rise, fall, and restoration of the British Church to a conclusion, the author believes he has most fully established all the points that he proposed to prove—that the Church of England is a primitive, apostolical, and independent branch of Christ's Holy Catholic Church—that her antiquity is unquestionable—her priority to the Church of Rome as an established national church, recognised by the State, undoubted—that she was a protestant Church more than 900 years before the Reformation—that her independence as such was maintained till after the Norman Conquest—that her submission to the See of Rome was effected by the force of error, of arms, of intimidation, and of priestcraft. He has shown that the Popish claim, through the power of "the Keys," to be the mother and mistress of all Churches, is a vain and arrogant pretence, warranted neither by Scripture

nor by history—that the papal usurpation and tyranny was effected and maintained by means the most infamous that can be conceived—that the Church of Rome riveted her yoke on the necks of the people, by keeping them in the grossest ignorance—by locking up the Scriptures in an unknown tongue—by perverting the truth—by denying the right of private judgment—by forcing on them doctrines, rites, and ceremonies such as Christ, his apostles, and their immediate successors never taught—by invading the heritage of their forefathers, and burning and blotting out, tearing or interpolating their sacred title-deeds to eternal life, the Holy Scriptures—and by substituting for the Scriptures the vain traditions of men.

These several points the author confidently believes have been proved by the fairest and most incontrovertible testimony that history affords—and consequently that *the Reformation was not the invention of a new religion, but the restoration of the old*—the recovery of that heritage of our fathers which was surreptitiously stolen from them. So that the question with which the Romanists are continually taunting Protestants,—Where their religion was before the Reformation?—adds mockery to theft. Thanks be to God, the popish plunderers could neither totally deface the seals, nor utterly destroy the parchments of Protestantism. They might, and they did, mar and mutilate them by the legends and fables of an infallible Church; but the God of truth "laughed at their devices—the Lord had them in derision." The restorers of the

Church of England were too wise in their generation, when they discovered the theft, to abandon the strong ground of scriptural light. The Cranmers and Latimers, the Ridleys and Jewells—the giants of those days,—men who, "by God's grace, lighted up such a candle in England as shall never be put out"—"stood in the ways, and saw, and asked for the old paths, where was the good way, and they walked therein." Yes, these mighty men had been eyewitnesses of the scandalous corruptions and gross idolatry of the Church of Rome—they had seen "the churches full of images wonderfully decked and adorned with precious stones; their dead and still bodies clothed with garments stiff with gold," to which the stupid people bowed down and worshipped—they had seen "the priests themselves, with a solemn pace, pass forth before these golden puppets, and fall down to the ground on their knees before these idols, and then rising up again, offer up odours and incense unto them,"[1]—they had seen the bowings, and gesticulations, the cross-creepings, and altar-kissings, and bread-breathings, and all the hundred other acts of mummery and pantomime, which so disgraced the Roman ritual—they had heard the prayers mumbled in a strange tongue, unintelligible to the people—they had witnessed the *famine* of the Word, the withholding the Scriptures from the people—they had seen and heard, and felt these unwarrantable innovations and novelties—they brought them to the test of Scripture—of primitive practice

[1] Hom. of the Church of England.

—they weighed them in the balance of the sanctuary—they "measured them by the Pattern" they had survived the Church's ruin—and without casting all away because in the assay they discovered a great admixture of alloy, they carefully cherished whatever remained pure—"that only in which the Church of Rome had prevaricated against the word of God, or innovated against apostolic tradition, was pared away." Of the truth of this remark of the venerable Taylor, the Liturgy that we have seen them compile so cautiously and scripturally is an everlasting witness. A strict "regard for ancient faith and piety is manifest in every page, and almost every paragraph, of that incomparable work; derived as it is, for the most part, from the actual forms, and accordant as it is, in all parts, with the spirit and feeling of Christian antiquity. Nor was this derivation and accordance the mere growth of circumstances: it was, as we have seen, the deliberate result of free choice and discriminate wisdom."

In the Preface to the Common Prayer, concerning the service of the Church, we are directed "to search out by the ancient Fathers for the original and ground of Divine Grace." And in the same Preface, "the godly and decent order of the ancient Fathers is referred to as the standard of our worship." But the standard of our worship is, in truth, the standard of our faith. For we may "boldly challenge our adversaries to produce any one article of our faith which is not contained in the formularies of our worship; or any one sentence in the formularies of our wor-

ship which is not, in letter or in spirit, contained in the writings of the ancient Church."[2] Away then for ever with the charge, the unfounded, untenable charge of novelty against the Church of England—away with the plea of antiquity so arrogantly vaunted by the Church of Rome! The foregoing facts demonstrate, in the plainest possible way, that the Reformers are no more to be charged with the bringing in of a "*new religion*," than our Saviour could be said to destroy the law or the prophets, because He purged them of the corrupt glosses of the Scribes and Pharisees, or to have erected a new temple, because He cast the money-changers out of the old one. As well might it be said, that the finding and disentombing the church of Perranzabuloe, the relieving its walls from the weight and pressure of the sand, and the restoration of it to its original form, condition, and use, has been the laying of new foundations, the uprearing of a new church—the one is not less absurd than the other. Yet such is the silly outcry that has been, and is to this day, raised against "the new system of religion," as it is called,[3] which the Reformation introduced.

It is a proof of the grossest fraud, or the greatest ignorance, on the part of the Romanists, in the face of the facts which are here brought together, still to persist in their unfounded pretensions. The candid inquirer after the truth, be he Roman Catholic or Protestant, will be able to

2 Append. to Bp. Jebb's Serm., p. 357.
3 Vide Report of the Downside Discussion, p. 384.

say to which side the charge of novelty is now the most applicable, and how far "the Church Service of England" is "new and pretended"—is in "schism and heresy"—and not only "unprofitable," but "damnable."[4]

The power of truth is great, and shall prevail; and the followers of Gospel truth, in particular, might well leave the unhappy dupes of error to grope their way through the dark and chilly regions of an unscriptural religion, in the persuasion that the time cannot be far distant when the God of truth shall rise, in the majesty of his power, and vindicate his cause, and shall "send out his light and his truth" into the darkest corners of the earth. Then shall "the man of sin"[5] be destroyed—then shall Antichrist no longer "exalt himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped," but shall be consumed "with the Spirit of God's mouth, and shall be destroyed with the brightness of his coming." (2 Thess. ii. 8.) Yet let the united

[4] Vide Notes on Acts x. 9 in the Popish Bible published in 1816, under the sanction of Dr. Troy.

[5] It was to be one of the marks of the "man of sin," that "*as God he should sit in the* Temple of God, showing himself that he is God." (2 Thess. xi. 4.) Who can mistake the application? In the ceremony at Rome called the *adoration of the Pope!* which takes place soon after his election, his Holiness "is placed in a chair *on the altar* of the Sixtine Chapel, and there receives the homage of the cardinals; this ceremony is again repeated on *the high altar* of St. Peter's."—The reader is referred to the 2nd vol. of the Rev. J. C. Eustace's *Class. Tour*, p. 577, for an account of this ceremony, a writer of no mean authority, being himself a Priest of the Church of Rome, who, whilst he apologizes for the custom severely condemns the act in these words, "Why should the altar be made his footstool? the altar, the *beauty of holiness*, the throne of the *victim lamb*, the mercy seat of the Temple of Christianity; why should the altar be converted into the footstool of a mortal?"

Oh, blind indeed are all the members of that Church, who will not read in this profane practice of their infallible head the *literal fulfilment* of the apostolical prediction!

prayers of the faithful be offered up continually to the Lord, that He will be pleased to remove the veil from the understandings of our Roman Catholic brethren, and will lead them to renounce their vain superstitions, and their many transgressions of the commandment of God "by their traditions." We would entreat them, with all brotherly affection, to be "more noble than those of Thessalonica, and to search the Scriptures" for themselves, and not to take their religion from the feeble testimony of such poor fallible guides as popes, councils, and human traditions. We pray them in sadness, but in sincerity, not to resist conviction, lest haply they may be found to fight against God. We say, in the spirit of most urgent entreaty, "Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues," "for in her was found the blood of prophets, and of saints." (Rev. xviii. 4. 24.) We offer them the undoubted heritage of their fathers—a *reasonable service*, and a *spiritual worship*, which they have so unwisely cast away for a *blind obedience*, an *implicit faith*, and a worship that is made up of bodily drudgeries, and forms, and rites, and ceremonies, which have their antitypes in the idolatrous religion of ancient and modern heathens, not in the practice of the primitive Christian Church.

The Lord grant that the Church of Rome, once "beloved of God," may "remember from whence she has fallen, and may repent, and do the first works"—God grant that the Church of England may be spared to accomplish those

high destinies which seem to be awaiting her—may she be "a glorious Church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing"—may she be a *united* Church in these troubled times—and may such of her children as have "thoughtlessly and ungratefully lifted up their heel against her," know and see that it is an evil thing and bitter to forsake and betray her by whom they have been "nourished and brought up!"

"For my brethren and companions' sake, I will wish her prosperity. Yea, because of the house of the Lord our God, I will seek to do her good."

APPENDIX.

No I.

The letter of the Earl of Manchester to his son, Mr. Walter Montague (referred to at page 29), was written under the following circumstances:—

Having given his son an excellent education, he sent him on his travels into France and Italy, where he imbibed such an opinion of the Romish religion, from the many Roman Catholics with whom he associated, that he was induced to give up his religion and his country, and retire into a monastery in France. He soon after addressed a letter to his father from Paris, A.D. 1635, in which he attempted to justify his change of religion; and among other grounds for so doing, declared that the Church of England being defective in one essential mark of a true Church, namely, her *visibility at all times*, she was, on that account, a false Church, and that he was therefore justified in quitting her communion.

Mr. W. Montague appears to have been led astray on

this point, by an assertion of St. Augustine, in his book Contra Petil. c. 104, that "the true Church has this certain sign, that it cannot be hid;" on which he (Mr. W. M.) thus argued—"Therefore it" (a true Church) "must be known to all nations; but that part of the (Protestant) Donatists is unknown to many, therefore cannot be the true; no inference can be stronger than from hence, that the concealment of a Church disproves the truth of it."

That such wretched sophistry could ever have misled a mind so acute as that of Mr. Montague, is almost incredible; for if "the concealment of a Church really disproves its truth," then is the Church of Rome not a true Church, for concealed she certainly was for a much longer period than the Protestant Church, having no identity whatever in the most essential of her doctrines with the primitive Church—purgatory, indulgences, transubstantiation, the sacrifice of the mass, and many other distinguishing doctrines, being absolutely unknown for several hundred years after the establishment of Christianity. Thus the two Churches, as far as this argument goes, would be nearly on a level, were there not this difference—that we, Protestants, are "troubled to show our Church in the *latter* and *more corrupt ages*, and the Roman Catholics theirs in the *first* and *purest*—that we can least find ours at *night*, and they theirs at *noon*."[1] On which side, then,

[1] Lord Faulkland's Answer to Mr. Montague's Letter, also published by Dr. Hammond.

even by Mr. Montague's own rule, does truth the most preponderate?

Let the admirable letter of the Earl of Manchester answer the inquiry.

Henry Montague Earl of Manchester's Answer to his son Walter Montague's Letter to him, on changing his religion, and becoming a Papist. Communicated from the original, by the said Walter, to the Right Hon. Robert Sidney, Earl of Leicester, when he was ambassador in France.

"Walter,—Your letter sent from Paris tells me how much debate you had with yourself, *whether with silence to suspend my belief, or by a clear profession to assure me what you feared to present me;* but *what was most satisfactory to your first duty to God*, that you thought *most justifiable to your derivative duty to nature, therefore resolved to give me an ingenuous account* of the declaration you had made then. Had you asked my counsel before you signified the resolution, it would have showed more duty in you, and bred less discontent in me; but think how welcome that letter could be, that at once tells of the intention, and signifies the resolution.

"Say you could not expect from me so much theological learning as to satisfie your scruples, yet it had been a fair address, of a son to a father, in a matter of that importance; nor are you ignorant of my care, I dare say know-

ledge studied, for the settlement of my children in that true faith which their father professed, and the Church of England hath established: Therefore, it would have been your greater justification, and my less sorrow, [so] to have lost yourself with love, if I could not have held you in with religious reason. Haply you will return upon me the misconstruction of that speech, *If any man come to me, and hate not his father, he cannot be my disciple.* But I must tell you that by this post-dated duty, you have trespassed both upon love and duty; for you have robbed me of the means of helping you with mine advice; which, as it is the best part of a father's portion to give, so it is not the least testimony of filial duty to ask.

"Now, to lay such a blemish upon all the cares of your former education, as not to think me worthy to see your aim, until you have set up your rest, is such a neglect, that without over-much fatherly candour, cannot be forced into an excusable interpretation. It makes me suspect that some politick respects, or private seducements, if not discontentments, have wrought upon you. Policy and religion, as they do well together, so do they as ill asunder, the one being too cunning to be good, the other being too simple to be safe. But upon policy to change religion, there is no warrant for that, less for discontentments, or upon seducements.

"When I look upon your letter, which you termed an *ingenuous account of yourself*, it seems to me not an account of your new professed religion, but rather an

exprobration of mine, and so of ours of the Church of England.

"Had I known the doubts before, I might have been an adviser; but objecting them after you had resolved, you call me up now to be a disputer. Although I be of his opinion who thought that truth did oftentimes suffer by too much altercation, it being a common errour amongst great clerks to contend more for victory than for verity; yet since you have so punctually led me into it, though it be contrary to my first resolution of silence (else you had heard from me sooner), and finding that the letter you sent me had a farther reach than to give me satisfaction (else the copies of it would not have been divulged before I came to receive it, and uses made of it to my discomfort), I therefore thought myself tied to give you an answer, lest those of your new profession should think (as some of them say) that a new lapsarian was more able by a few days' discipline to oppose our religion, than an old father and long professour was able to defend it.

"Having this tie upon me, I hope, on the one side, our learned divines will pardon me, if for my son's sake I dip my pen in their ink; and you on the other side will lay mine arguments more to heart, as proceeding from the bowels of a father, than if they had been framed by the brains of a learned divine.

"In this case also I have some advantage of other men, who though they might write more learnedly, yet cannot doe it so feelingly; for mine interest is not only in the

cause, but in the person, for whom I must give an account, if there be failing in my part to reduce him to truth. A person whose letter I take into mine hands, as he did the urn of his son's ashes, to shed over it *veras lachrymas*, as arguments of the truth; both which I hope shall perswade forceably, if there be any of that bloud left in you that I gave you. It is true, affection is not to rule religion; yet in this way nature may co-operate with grace.

"Your letter says truly, *the greatest part of your life capable of distinction of religions, hath been in places, and conversant with persons opposite to the faith I bred you in; therefore*, you say, *it had been strange, if natural curiosity, without any spiritual provocation, had not invited you with desire of looking upon the foundation you trode on, rather than holding fast blindfold by your education, to be always carried away after it.*

"In your education, God knows, my first care was to season you with true religion, wherein from a boy you attained unto such knowledge, as Spain will witness (when you were but a youth), how strong a champion you were for the Protestant profession. The court of France, nor yet all the Princes' courts of Christendom (most of which you have visited), could never till now taint your faith, but always rendered you sound in the religion which you carried with you hence.

"But now Italy hath turned you, because England hath discontented you.

"In your *last journey into* Italy, as you said, *you ap-*

plied all your leisure to confirm your judgment in the doctrine introduced by your education; which if you had done seriously, you could not so soon, nor would not at all, upon so weak motives, have let go your hold; for of all other their tenets the two you mentioned are the weakest, and have received clearest satisfaction; whereby it appears that you were resolved to give up the cause, before you came at it; and what you would not *hold blind-fold,* to give up blind-fold, which is worse.

"Could that be a motive to your desertion of our Church, as perswaded that Luther was the father of our faith? yourself cannot forget, how that we build our faith upon Christ, not upon Luther, upon the doctrine of the Scriptures, not upon the inventions of men. Could it be proved against us, that Luther or any other man, how grey-headed soever, were the *inventor of our faith,* there needed no more to be said, we could contend no longer. But we renounce all men alike as *inventors* of religion, or any part of it; but hold onely the apostolical doctrine of the ancient Primitive and Catholick Church, and presume not to coin any new creed.

"Yet we are not unwilling to grant that Luther was one, but not the first of many, that restored the purity of the doctrine, which had been long smothered by the papacy; our faith, if you take in the whole, is no other but what is exiconized in the Apostles' Creed, included in the Scriptures. If you take it in a lower and straiter way, for so much of it as is opposed to the corruption of Popery;

you must remember that these points are neither the whole nor greatest points of faith; there are not any points of our faith but we are able to show they had maintainers, few or many, in all ages since the apostles' time; and every of these ages, those substructures of Popery opposed, some by one man, some by another.

"I wonder therefore to see you carried away with that common and trivial calumny, that Luther was the *inventor* of our *faith;* and why say you, that for the intervall of 800 years before there was no apparent profession of faith different from Rome? and this you collect by historical search of *all the stories and records ecclesiastical and civil.* It seems, Italy affords you no copies of our writers, else might you see in them a list which they carry out through all these spaces, and show you, that most of our tenets have had the suffrage of the learnedest of Rome's side, and how many men in the decursion of time from the ancientest of fathers, have declared themselves, and some of them apparently, yea earnestly contended for the truth of our doctrine.

"And where you object that Waldo, Wickliffe, and Huss, *had scarce any relation to the now-professed Protestancy;* if you mean, because we disclaim those horrid opinions which are put upon them [how true God knows], therein you say truly, neither they to us, nor we to them have any relation; but in the main points of doctrine touching faith, and opposition of the superstitions and usurpation of the Papacy, we have a joynt consent of all

the best writers, historians, and divines of both sides, that they and we consent in one.

"It is strange, therefore, to say, that these [and we] had no relation to the Protestant profession, who for substance of religion held as we do, their errours onely we own not: and the consent of times do all agree, that the Waldenses flew out against their corruptions 400 years before Luther was born; nay, saith Reynerius, *quidam dicunt quòd secta illa duraverit à tempore* Sylvestri, *alii quòd à tempore apostolorum*, deriving their fundamental doctrine from the time of the apostles: nor were they few, *sed multiplicati super arenas maris;* nor plebeians onely, *sed principum favore armati*, as the kings of Arragon, the earls of Tholouse, and many more. So that there are witnesses more than sufficient, that there were many who opposed themselves to the Papacy in the Protestant tenets, long before Luther. This [is the] first supposition failing, I will now let you see the mistakes in the subsequent passages, and open to you my sense, hoping yet that I may draw you again to me.

"You, as you conceive, having shown a defect of *visibility* in our Church till Luther's time, labour to prove a necessity of visibility to every true Church. If it were granted, that it were simply necessary to the essentiating of a Church, to be able to demonstrate in all times, both the visible number of professours of the truth, as also a visible succession of pastours, we are able to demonstrate both these, for our defence, to be as unquestionable in our

Church as in the Church of Rome; they that are otherwise minded will account this a bold undertaking, but it is no hard matter to doe. Wherefore the vanity of that question, to ask where our Church was before Luther, becomes not any man that hath read anything of our Church monuments.

"But you would seem to me to prove it two ways: first, by the testimony of our own divines; secondly, by argument.

"By testimonies of our divines you would have Doctour Field, Doctour White, and Master Hooker, to confess needfulness of *visibility;* and yet, for their own Church, fly to *latency.* For this second you instance Doctour Whitaker, and Doctour White, one of them, to confess *our Church for many ages to have been in a secret solitude:* and the other to let go his defence of visible succession by *flying to an invisible subterfuge of non-apparency.* If you had better perused the tracts of those writers, they would have given you full satisfaction; but you mistake both the persons and the points. These made a demonstration of those three points; first, that neither the Church's obscurity is repugnant to the *visibility* of it: secondly, nor the *visibility* of it such as excludes all *latency.* Nor yet the *latency* of orthodox Christians in the swaying time of Popery, such as had not requisite lineaments of an accountable *visibility.*

"But you must know, that *visibility* doth not always carry the same height, but admits of degrees, so that we

cannot say that that wants visibility which hath in it a lower degree. The sun, compared with itself, is in a degree visible, though in a mist, yet not so clearly visible as when it shines out: so is it with the state of the Church, because her splendour is not *in termino*, but such as receives degrees by augmentation or diminution; like as the sun is as truly visible under a cloud as in his brightness, though not so clearly visible; so not to admit the Church to be visible, except she be glorious, is an errour; for there's a variation of the Church's visibility in respect of her object; the want of which consideration, I believe, is one cause why so many deceive themselves in this point. Secondly, there is another diversity which arises from the visive organs; some may see, and will not; there the fault is not in the object, but in the beholders. Philosophers say, *Visibilia non sunt minus visibilia cum non videntur, quam quando videntur*, the objects of sight remain still discernible, when they are not discerned: so it is with the Church, there are strictures of visibility discernible in her obscure condition; but it is as *visible non visum*, which falls out when men will not open their eyes, or they shut them on purpose, which hapned in the prevailing times of Popery, when this notwithstanding, yet there were lights which appeared for the defence of the truth, and the discovery of errour, in every age of the intervall.

"But sure our men labour in vain to demonstrate that visibility, whilst they of the Papacy are so disaffected as not to acknowledge it upon any terms; otherwise this

controversie had long since been ended, if they had been as well disposed to see, as we ready to shew our visibility.

"In this question men are to consider that there is a double splendour of the Church, which makes way for the visibility of it.

"The proper splendour of a Church consists in purity of doctrine.

"The common splendour of a Church consists in the outward accommodations, which appertain not to the being, but the well-being of the Church, as temporal peace, multitude of professours, local succession of pastours; yet persecution may interrupt this succession of pastours, it may cut off the multitude of professours, heresie may so far prevail as to make the orthodox Church pull in her head, witness the time of Arianism, when few but godly Athanasius, and some with him, were fain to keep it in corners. And of this our divines are to be understood, when they speak of our *latency*, that for this outward splendour it suffered a great obscurity for divers hundred years; yet when it was at the lowest, the doctrine was visible, and some professours still in the eye of the world, I would wish you well to consider things which I shall tell you.

"1. The state of the Church is so ordered by our great master Christ, that she is to expect her times of obscurity, as well as her times of splendour, he hath made her estate *militant*, and appointed her to a passive condition, as well as an active: designed her to vicissitudes of obscurity as

well as lustre, and shews her no less glorious in her obscurity than in her triumph, as Tertullian saith of vertue, *Extruitur duritia; destruitur mollitia.*

"2. This visibility represented by an innumerous multitude, local succession, secular estate, these were not considered in the first times, when the Church stood sound, nor in the latter times, when she got some recovery; onely in the intermediate, when she lay under the cross. And were these the *probats* of faith, it had been ill with the Israelites' Church in the time of Elias; worse with the Apostolical Church, when the scribes and Pharisees sate in Moses' chair; worse in the time of Arianism, and in times of Antichristianism, which shall come, as most writers say.

"3. This glorious succession, which Rome so much brags of, is a deceitful *medium* whereby to measure the truth of a Church; because a Church may be a true Church without it; and be also a false Church with it. *Non colligitur ibi necessariò esse ecclesiam, ubi est successio*, saith Bellarmine; though Stapleton be of another mind. Alexandria challengeth succession as well as Rome; the Church of Constantinople takes her pedigree from St. Andrew the apostle, and brings it down to our times. A false church may have succession, and a true church may want it; otherwise you will grant that Rome is no true church; the chair at Rome hath sometimes lain empty, sometimes it hath carried double, and both of them have been deposed; these broken links mar the chain of that

succession. But because this rather concerns the persons, not the thing, it is otherwise to be clearly shewed, that it may be a true church that hath not this uninterrupted succession: for else no church at all could be true in her first plantation. For successions are by descent, descents have no place in first originals, whereas the orthodox faith doth the very first day put her in possession of apostolical succession, as Tertullian well saith, that churches which have not their original descent from the apostles are apostolical, *propter consanguinitatem doctrinæ.* The place which you cite out of the fourth to the Ephesians, proves clearly the necessity of orthodox pastours, not of local succession; you may hereby see, how in the informing of yourself in this particular, you are overtaken.

"This thing also much troubles me, that your letters said, that when you last came back out of Italy, you *sought nothing so attentively as satisfaction* in these points of controversie, especially that touching the visibility of our Church in all ages, but could receive none. Could you never, in all the while of your last being in England, find the time to acquaint me with your desire? doubtless, I must say, you did in this time *study the dissimilation of your intention*, otherwise I must have known it.

"I was heretofore more indulgent towards you, for God knows it, Walter, the son of my body was never so dear unto me, as the salvation of my son Walter's soul; your younger years can witness, how I shewed you the way which I myself took to settle mine own salvation: for

though it was my happiness to be derived from virtuous and religious parents, yet I took not my religion merely by descent, but studied and examined the ground on which I was to found my faith; I read both Papists and Protestants, I found both confident, and contradictory—*Et quoties palpitavit mihi tremulum cor*, before I settled either way? sometimes thinking safest to mean well, and to keep unsettled either way; yet I saw a necessity laid on me, to be of one of the two Churches; but how to find out which of them was the true Church, whereof I must be a member if I would secure my salvation, *hic labor, hoc opus est:* I easily resolved, there was not two Churches whereof a man might choose which to be of; and after long study I found clearly that to be the true Church, which constantly held the common faith, which faith had the scripture for the rule; this known and resolved, which is undoubted, then I was not scared with that fearful censure of the Roman Church, which pronounced all damned that are not of that Church.

"But how much am I distasted to find several arguments made in the letter, all to insinuate that the Scriptures are not a competent rule of faith? and first, variety of interpretation; secondly, obscurity of some places; thirdly, inauthentickness of themselves; fourthly, their authority dependent on the Church; fifthly, the purity of them warranted by the visibility of the Church; sixthly, made authentick by the Church's authority: strange assertions; as if the true Church were not to be tried by the true

faith, but the true faith by the Church. I know myself bound to believe the authority of that Church which makes scripture the rule of faith; but as for the act of any Church, though it be a fit ministry to show me the way, yet it is not of authority sufficient to itself to secure me of my salvation; from true faith the true Church is inferred, and which is the true Church, when all is done, must be tried by the scripture. But it is now with us, as it was in the time of Chrysostom, when there was so much question which was the true Church, and men were of so many different opinions about it, as none could tell what Church to be of, or what religion was safest to trust to; so saith the father of the scriptures, which in matters of faith necessary to salvation speak so truly, so fully, so plainly, as it is but a shift for a man to say he understands them not; and good St. Austine finding, that from controversies in religion there came no other fruit but *indeterminata luctatio*, said with sorrow, why do we strive about our father's will? *Nos sumus fratres*, and our father is not dead intestate, but hath left his will and testament in writing: let it be followed, and all controversies will soon be ended.

"Flatter not yourself, Walter; the remonstrance you make shows that the *resignation* you made of yourself to the Church of Rome was *precipitate*, and then the *resolution to live and die* there, desperate; yet you give some hopes when you say, nor do you *now so desperately profess, as if it were your fortune's legacy, for you do not believe it*

so dangerous but it may recover. The king's benignity and goodness is always to interpret the best; but know, that his Majesty hath a better opinion of those who are bred such, than of those who become such by relapse. Nor am I willing to apprehend any change of your duty; yet take this for a caveat that commonly all changes follow change of faith. I never travelled of you till now, and it is with a great deal of pain. I thought you should have wept over me, when nature had called for her due; but you have prevented me. And yet my son, you may yet return to me; but I shall never go to you in this way, nor had I ever gone so far into this question, but to fetch you again, my son, otherwise a lost child.

"Thus, as your letter began, so do I end; *after much debate concerning a fit expression* of myself, whether was better, by not writing, to show my dislike, or by long writing, to labour your recovery; this last was most *satisfactory* to my conscience, though the other more agreeable to nature displeased. I have therefore resolved, as you see, to give you this answer; and I pray God that he may bless you and me so in it, that my pen may have the fruit my heart wishes.

"Your loving Father,

"MANCHESTER."

No. II.

ANCIENT CHURCHES OF THE VAUDOIS, AND SYRO-CHRISTIANS IN INDIA.

THE Roman Catholics insist on *visibility*, as one of the proofs of a true Church, and therefore object against Protestants the concealment of their Church for so many hundred years, defying them to produce anything like a visible Church beyond the days of Peter Waldo, who commenced his opposition to the errors of Popery about A.D. 1160, and according to Popish writers founded the sect of the Waldenses, or Vaudois. The Rev. W. S. Gilly, in his interesting researches among these Protestants of the Cottian Alps, has shown most satisfactorily that so far from Waldo being the founder of their Church, they existed, as a distinct body, certainly as far back as the year 828, or according to some writers even from the days of the Apostles, and have ever since continued to profess a pure faith, and to resist every attempt made upon their Church by the emissaries of Rome. Here then we find a large body of Christians, the pure light of whose faith shone in the darkest times of Popish corruption, and has been preserved ever since without the slightest admixture of any one of the novel introductions of Popery. But we have a still more striking and interesting proof of the *successive visibility of the Protestant Church*, from the earliest age of Christianity, in the discovery of the Syro-Christian

Church in the South of India, whose history, coupled with that of the Vaudois, most fully assures us that there has never been a time when some branch of the true vine, independent of Rome, has not flourished on the earth; so that let Romanists insist as much as they please on the argument of visibility, it recoils on their own head, and leaves Protestants in the clear possession of the ancient and true faith. The existence of these Syro-Christians, as an ancient and pure Church, is a fact so much to our purpose, that we shall be pardoned for introducing the notice of their discovery and history, as recorded in the interesting Christian Researches of Dr. Buchanan.

"The Syrian Christians inhabit the interior of Travancore and Malabar, in the South of India, and have been settled there from the early ages of Christianity. The first notices of this ancient people in recent times, are to be found in the Portuguese histories. When Vasco de Gama arrived at Cochin, on the coast of Malabar, in 1503, he saw the sceptre of the Christian king; for the Syrian Christians had formerly regal power in Malayala.

"When the Portuguese arrived, they were agreeably surprised to find upwards of 100 Christian churches on the coast of Malabar. But when they became acquainted with the *purity* and *simplicity* of their worship, they were offended. 'These churches,' said the Portuguese, 'belong to the Pope.' 'Who is the Pope?' said the natives; '*we never heard of him.*'

"The European priests were yet more alarmed, when

they found that these Hindoo Christians maintained the order and discipline of a regular Church, under episcopal jurisdiction: and that for 1300 years past, they had enjoyed a succession of bishops appointed by the Patriarchs of Antioch. '*We*,' said they, '*are of the true faith* whatever you from the West may be; for we come from the place where the followers of Christ were first called Christians.'

"When the power of the Portuguese became sufficient for their purpose. they invaded these tranquil churches, seized some of the clergy, and *devoted them to the death of heretics.* Then the inhabitants heard, for the *first time*, that there was a place called the Inquisition, and that its fires had been lighted at Goa, near their own land. But the Portuguese finding that the people were resolute in defending their ancient faith, began to try more conciliatory measures. Nevertheless they seized the Syrian bishop, Mar Joseph, and sent him prisoner to Lisbon, and then convened a synod at one of the Syrian churches, called Diamper, near Cochin, at which the Roman Catholic Archbishop Menezes presided. At this compulsory synod 150 of the Syrian clergy appeared. They were accused of the following practices and opinions:—that *they had married wives*, that *they owned but two Sacraments, Baptism and the Lord's Supper;* that *they neither invoked saints*, nor *worshipped images*, nor *believed in purgatory;* and that *they had no other orders or names of dignity in the Church than priest and deacon.*

"These tenets they were called on to abjure, or to suffer suspension from all church benefices. It was also agreed that all the Syrian books, on ecclesiastical subjects, that could be found, should be burnt; in order, said the inquisitors, that no pretended apostolical monuments may remain.

"The churches on these coasts were thus *compelled* to acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope; but they refused to pray in Latin, and insisted on retaining their own language and *Liturgy*. *This point*, they said, *they would only give up with their lives*. The Pope compromised the matter with them.

"The churches in the interior would not yield to Rome. After a show of submission for a little while, they proclaimed eternal war against the inquisition; they hid their books, and fled to the mountains."

Here, then, from distant quarters of the globe are witnesses of unquestionable authority to the fact, that Protestantism is *no novelty*, but *the only representative of the true and ancient faith* in the world.

These Syro-Christians agree so entirely with the Church of England in fundamental doctrines, there is every reason to hope that a union between the two Churches will be effected before long.

No. III.

THE ANCIENT UNIVERSITIES OF ENGLAND NOT OF ROMAN CATHOLIC FOUNDATION.

THE antiquity, apostolicity, and independence of the Church of England having, it is hoped on sufficient ground, been fully established, it will not be considered as irrelevant to the subject, if a further point of history, very closely connected with the Protestantism of the British Church, and on that account greatly misrepresented by Romanists, is cleared of the error with which it has been invested. This may be done in a few words.

It is gravely asserted by Roman Catholics, and hastily credited by thoughtless Protestants, that our English universities owe their foundation to members of the Church of Rome; and it is urged against those venerable bodies, as instances of most unpardonable intolerance, and cruellest injustice, that they should now close their doors against Papists and Dissenters, considering that these seats of learning have been unjustly wrested from the hands of their original popish founders. This, however, is one other of those miserable fallacies, which is, with such mischievous industry, circulated through the land, and from the high quarter whence it has been propagated of late,[2] is likely to effect the destructive object in view, if suffered to remain uncontradicted.

[2] Vide Dr. Baines's Circular, addressed to Protestants, a few years ago, soliciting subscriptions towards rebuilding the mansion of Prior Park.

The history of our universities is the history of our ancient Catholic Church, with which the connexion has ever been so close and indissoluble, that the one has almost invariably flourished or decayed with the growth or the decline of the other.

To limit their foundation to Roman Catholic times, would be to blot out many brilliant pages of their ancient history; for, like the British Church herself, these venerable seats of the muses can trace their origin to very remote periods, and were even celebrated as schools of science *at times far removed from the first establishment of Popery in England.*

We will take the university of Oxford, whose records have been better preserved than those of Cambridge, in proof of what we now assert. Without pretending to claim for her the honour of having been founded, as some authors declare, immediately after the siege of Troy, there is ground for believing that her foundation was first laid by Arviragus, a British king about A.D. 70, and therefore very soon after the Gospel was planted in Britain. Camden, a writer of the best authority, asserts on the testimony of the most ancient and credible records, that "the wisdom of our ancestors, as appears in our history, consecrated, *even in the British times*, this city to the muses, translating them from Greeklade (now Cricklade) hither, as to a more fruitful nursery."

Alexander Necham also, referring to times long antecedent to the arrival of St. Augustin, says that "agreeably

also to Merlin's prophecy, *wisdom also and learning have long flourished* at the Ford of Oxen (Oxford), and will in due time pass over into Ireland."

The Saxons who invaded England, A.D. 449, in their blind zeal for destroying every trace of Christianity, with the churches burnt and pillaged also the universities; so that on Alfred's succeeding to the throne, and witnessing the deplorable state of learning in the land, he undertook the laudable work of rebuilding and restoring the university of Oxford, which had, during the troubled times preceding, fallen into great decay.

John Rous, of Warwick, another famous historian, says, that "he (Alfred) established within this city, at his own expense, three teachers of grammar, arts, and divinity;" and Camden, whom we have before quoted, more particularly informs us, that "when the storm of the Danish war was over," he restored their retreats to the long-exiled muses; and founded three colleges, one for grammarians, another for philosophy, and a third for divinity.[3] Up to this period the Romish party in England appear to have in no way interfered with this celebrated university. Unfortunately, in his zeal for learning, Alfred about this time induced many learned Roman Catholics to come over to England and settle themselves at Oxford—and among others was St. Grymbald. The consequence of this introduction of foreign scholars was fatal to the peace and quiet of the university; and yet by its issue proves most satis-

[3] Vide Camden, Bishop Gibson's Translation, vol. ii. p. 303, fol. ed.

factorily to us, that down to the beginning of the ninth century, the university of Oxford was clear of all connexion with and submission to the Church of Rome. This will appear more clearly from the following curious event, that happened at no long time after the arrival of the learned foreigners. The particulars are related by Camden, and were derived by him from the ancient annals of the monastery of Winchester.

"In the year of our Lord 806, in the second year of St. Grimbald's coming over into England, the university of Oxford was founded (restored); the first regents there, and readers in divinity, were St. Neot, an abbot and eminent professor of theology, and St. Grimbald, an eloquent and most excellent interpreter of the H. Scriptures. Grammar and rhetorick were taught by Asserius, a monk, a man of extraordinary learning; logick, musick and arithmetick, were read by John, a monk of St. David's; geometry and astronomy were professed by John, a monk and colleague of St. Grimbald, a man of a sharp wit and immense knowledge. These lectures were often honoured with the presence of the most illustrious and invincible monarch King Ælfred, whose memory to every judicious taste shall be always sweeter than honey."

"Soon after this," according to Asser, "there arose a sharp and grievous dissention between Grymbold and those learned men whom he brought hither with him, and *the old scholars whom he found here at his coming;* for *these absolutely refused to comply with the statutes, institutions,*

and *forms of reading, prescribed by Grymbold.* The difference proceeded to no great height for the space of three years, yet there was always a private grudge and enmity between them, which soon after broke out with the greatest violence imaginable. To appease these tumults, the most invincible King Ælfred, being informed of the faction by a message and complaint from Grymbold, came to Oxford with design to accommodate matters, and submitted to a great deal of pains and patience to hear the cause and complaint of both parties. The controversie depended upon this: the old scholars maintained that *before the coming of Grymbold to Oxford, learning did here flourish*, though the students were then less in number than they had formerly been, by reason that very many of them had been expelled by the cruel tyranny of Pagans. They further declared and proved, and this by the undoubted testimony of their ancient annals, that good orders and constitutions for the government of that place had been made before by men of great piety and learning, such as Gildas, Melkin, Ninnius, Kentigern, and others, who had there prosecuted their studies even to old age, and managed all things happily with peace and quiet: and that St. German coming to Oxford, and residing there half a year, what time he went through all England to preach down the Pelagian heresy, *did exceedingly approve of their rules and orders.* The King, with incredible humility, and great attention, heard out both parties, earnestly exhorting them, with pious and healing entreaties, to preserve love

and amity with one another. Upon this he left them, in hopes that both parties would follow his advice, and obey his instructions. But Grymbold, resenting these proceedings, retired immediately to the monastery at Winchester, which King Ælfred had lately founded: and soon after he got his tomb to be removed thither to him, in which he had designed his bones should be put after his decease. This was in a vault under the chancel of the church of St. Peter's in Oxford; which church the said Grymbold had raised from the ground, of stones hewn and carved with great art and beauty."

An excellent writer, under the signature of Britannicus, in a pamphlet entitled "The Church of England its own Witness," has brought forward the same account of the matter from Camden, and has drawn his conclusions from the narrative in a manner so much to the present purpose, that we cannot do better than quote his own words.

"We have thus," he says, "the most *undoubted evidence*, that the origin of our universities is independent of the Church of Rome; that they are clearly identified with the ancient British and Apostolical Church, and that they must have existed at least 500 years before the Church of Rome visited our shores?

"From Alfred's decision, it is evident that the three colleges he founded were given to the *early* proprietors—the representatives Gildas, Melkinnus, and Kentigern, who were Church of England men, in the fullest sense of the designation. And it is manifest, that whatever power the

Church of Rome afterwards exercised in the universities, was not an original right, but acquired by artifice, or usurped by violence. At the Reformation, the universities and the revenue reverted back to their proper owners—to men who were the legitimate representatives of the ancient British Church, and the true successors of those primitive men, Gildas and Kentigern, by whom they were founded and instituted.

"Should it be urged, notwithstanding, that some of the colleges were founded under the dominion of the Church of Rome, it does not form any solid objection to the argument. They were founded on *the ancient basis*, and without a *legal title;* and what is more, during a time of *usurpation.* Under such circumstances, restitution can neither be demanded nor given. It would be just as rational to insist, that whatever wealth or accession of territory accrued to the Crown, during the usurpation of Cromwell, belonged and should have been restored to the usurping party. No. Usurpation itself is a crime; and the least punishment that can be awarded is, that it should be mulcted to the extent of its unjustly acquired booty.

"The present Church of England, and the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, are clearly identified for at least fifteen hundred years! Their league is ancient—their union is complete—their interests inseparable. And does it now require a debate in the British Parliament to decide, whether these ancient institutions shall remain in the same relation to each other, and descend to our pos-

terity in the same wholesome integrity in which they have been handed down to ourselves? It is disgraceful enough that it should have formed the subject of dispute; but it must proceed no further, if reason and justice are yet to reign in the councils of Britain!"

No. IV.

A PROTESTANT'S REASONS FOR THE INDEPENDENCE AND PROTESTANTISM OF THE ANCIENT BRITISH CHURCH.

1. St. Peter possessed no supremacy over the rest of the apostles; therefore the Church of Britain, established by St. Paul, was independent of St. Peter.
2. St. Paul says of himself, that he had the care of all the Churches of his own foundation; and therefore the Church of Britain was dependent on him, and not on Peter.
3. The bishopric of Rome was established jointly by St. Paul and St. Peter, after St. Paul's return from Britain; and therefore the Church of Britain was prior to, and independent of the Church of Rome.
4. The Church of Britain was established before the bishop of Rome had any authority beyond his own diocese, and therefore was independent of the Church of Rome.
5. In the fourth century Jerome declared the Church of Rome and Britain to be "ejusdem meriti et sacerdotii," of the same condition, and merit, and pastoral authority.
6. The Church of Britain was subsisting in the fifth and

sixth century, when Britain ceased to be a part of the Roman empire; and therefore was independent of the Church of Rome.

7. The bishop of Rome derived the title and power of universal bishop from an emperor in the seventh century; and therefore the Church of Britain was independent of the Church of Rome prior to the existence of such power.
8. The bishop of Rome attempted to establish a spiritual jurisdiction over the Church of Britain in the seventh century, which the British bishops indignantly rejected; and therefore the Church of Britain was independent of the Church of Rome.

A ROMAN CATHOLIC'S REASONS WHY HE CANNOT CONFORM TO THE PROTESTANT RELIGION.

ROMAN CATHOLIC REASONS.	ROMAN CATHOLIC REASONS ANSWERED.
I. Because the Protestant religion is a new religion, which had no being in the world till 1500 years after Christ; and therefore it comes 1500 years too late to be the true Church of Christ. Martin Luther laid the first foundation of the Protestant religion, A.D. 1517.	I. The religion of Protestants in this United Kingdom is not a new religion, but is as old as the days of St. Paul, who preached it and established it in Britain. The Church of Britain was fully established before the Church of Rome. M. Luther did not lay the first foundation of the Protestant religion. The Church of Britain protested against the superstition and idolatry of the Church of Rome, and would hold no communion with it, as early as the beginning of the seventh century.
II. Because the Protestant religion cannot be true, except the whole Scripture, both of the Old and	II. The Protestant religion does not pretend to be a *Reformation of the Church of Christ*, but of

New Testament, from the beginning to the end, be false, which in so many places assures us that the Church of Christ shall never go astray. For every one knows, that the Protestant religion pretends to be a Reformation of the Church of Christ.

III. Because the first foundations of the Protestant religion were laid by an insupportable pride in one man, viz. Luther.

IV. Because Luther and the first Protestants, when they began to set up their new religion and disclaimed the authority and doctrine of all churches then upon earth, could not say the Creed *without telling a lie*, when they came to that article, "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church, the Communion of Saints."

V. Because the Protestant Church has not those marks by which the Nicene Creed directs us to the true Church of Christ. It is not *one holy Catholic* and *Apostolical*.

1. It is not *one*, because the different branches of the *pretended Reformation* are divided from one another in faith and communion.
2. Their Church is not *holy;* neither in her doctrine, nor in the lives either of her first teachers or of their followers.
3. Their Church is not *Catholic*—they are sensible this name belongs not to them, and therefore they have taken to themselves another name; viz. that of the *Church of Rome*. The Scriptures nowhere say that the Church of Rome shall not go astray. The Church of Rome has undoubtedly greatly gone astray by idolatry, in the invocation of saints, and by the suppression of half of the eucharist in refusing the cup to the laity, &c.

III. The religion of Protestants in this United Kingdom, as was observed before, is coeval with St. Paul. But the *first Protest* against the Church of Rome was made by the British Bishops of the seventh century.

IV. Protestants believe in the Holy Catholic Church, by believing that the Universal Church of Christ is one Holy Catholic Church. They believe in this Holy Catholic Church, though they do not believe the Church of Rome to be the *whole Church* of Christ. They believe in the *Communion of Saints*, though they do not ascribe to them the attribute of *Omnipresence by praying to them.*

V. There is no Church called the Protestant Church. There are different branches of the Church of Christ protesting against the errors of the Church of Rome, such as the Lutheran Church and the Church of England. The Universal Church of Christ is *one holy, Catholic,* and *Apostolical;* but the before-mentioned branches of this Church do not pretend to be the whole Church of Christ. Yet they are *one* with the *Universal* Church, as the disciples of Christ are one with Christ—they are *holy,* as being part of that which is holy—they are *Catholic,* as being parts of the Church Universal—and they are *Apostolical,* because they are

Protestants—and indeed, how should their Church be Catholic or Universal, which implies being in all ages, and in all nations; since it had no being for fifteen ages, and is unknown in most nations.

4. Their Church is not *Apostolical*, since it neither was founded by any of the apostles, nor has any succession of doctrine, communion, or lawful mission.

VI. Because Luther was the *first* preacher of the Protestant religion.

VII. Because the *first steps* towards introducing the Protestant religion into England were made by Henry VIII.

VIII. Because Protestancy was settled upon its present bottom in this kingdom by Act of Parliament, in the first year of Queen Elizabeth. How then can it be called the *Church of England*, or any Church at all, seeing it was introduced and established by the authority of *mere laymen* in opposition to *the Church*?

IX. Because there is not so much religion among Protestants as among Catholics; no extraordinary sanctity, no renunciation of worldly goods, no houses consecrated to retirement, &c.

founded on the doctrine and discipline of the Apostles. The Church of Britain is eminently *Apostolical*, having been founded and established by St. Paul. Protestants are Catholic, as being members of the Church *Universal*. They do not cease to be *Catholic*, because they protest against the errors of the Church of Rome, however improperly the term *Catholic* may be used by Papists, and even by some Protestants, as opposed to the term *Protestant*.

VI. Luther lived 900 years after the *first Protest* of the British Church against the Church of Rome.

VII. Answered in Nos. 1, 3, 6.

VIII. Protestantism was *restored* and re-established in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. But the British Church protested more than 900 years before that time. Popish writers have a very imperfect notion of the *Church of Christ*. The Church does not consist merely of bishops and clergy, but of the whole body of believers in Christ, who observe the ordinances of Christ and his apostles. The Parliament of Elizabeth did not at all interfere with *the Church*, but only with the *Church Establishment*. It restored to the Crown "the ancient jurisdiction over the state ecclesiastical, and abolished all foreign powers repugnant to the same."

IX. Protestants believe that there is more real sanctity in an innocent, virtuous, charitable, and useful life, spent in the busiest society of our fellow-creatures, than in the most rigid and painful austerities of solitude.

X. Because we alone inherit the name of Catholic.

X. The Church of Rome is not the Catholic Church, but only a part of it. All Christians are Catholics, who adhere to the faith once delivered to the saints, having one Lord, one faith, one baptism.

XI. Because even in the judgment of Protestants, we must be on the safer side.

XI. Protestants do not allow the Church of Rome to be on the safer side. They consider the *Invocation of Saints, and bowing down before images*, to be acts of idolatry; and they believe that persons guilty of idolatry *are in a very dangerous state.*

XII. Because the Protestant religion encourages Protestants, by the doctrine of *Justification by faith alone*, to be noways solicitous for redeeming their past sins, by good works and penitential austerities.

XII. Protestants believe that in *the blood of Christ alone* is redemption from past sins; that good works are necessary to salvation; but that our best works are only sufficient for our duties, and cannot do away a single sin that is past.

XIII. Because the Protestant religion can afford no certainty in matters of faith.—*Abridged from a Tract by Bishop Challoner.*

XIII. Protestants believe that nothing can be more certain than the truths contained in the three creeds, and that in those plain words of Scripture,—"If thou wilt enter into life, keep the Commandments,"—"this do and thou shalt live,"—"believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved,"—"forgive, and thou shalt be forgiven,"—"whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, even so do unto them,"—we have infallible directions for our faith and conduct, which require no confirmation, and can receive no light from popes or councils.

No. V.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE CHURCHES OF ENGLAND AND ROME.

ROMAN CATHOLICS.	PROTESTANTS.
I. Papists acknowledge the Pope to be the Supreme Head of the whole Christian Church, and with the Church to be infallible.	I. Protestants believe no human creature to be infallible, and acknowledge Christ alone to be the universal bishop of his Church.
II. Papists bow down to the host and to images.	II. Protestants believe the act of bowing down to the host and to images to be *contrary to the second* commandment, and to be *idolatry*.
III. Papists pray to departed saints for their protection, and intercession with God.	III. Protestants hold that Christ is our only Mediator and Intercessor; and that Prayer to saints is idolatry.
IV. Papists believe that the elements of bread and wine in the eucharist are converted into *the real body and blood* of Christ.	IV. Protestants believe such conversion of the elements, commonly called Transubstantiation, to be *unscriptural* and *impossible*.
V. Papists believe this conversion of the elements to be effected by the priest in the act of consecration.	V. Protestants affirm that there is no authority whatever in Scripture for supposing the priest to be possessed of such miraculous powers; and that the mere repetition of the eucharistic form of consecration has no more power of *transubstantiating* the elements than the utterance of the words "Lazarus, come forth," has of raising the dead.
VI. Papists refuse the cup to the laity, in the eucharist.	VI. Protestants consider *the refusal of the cup* to be a mutilation of the sacrament, and a violation of Christ's most solemn command.
VII. Papists believe that Christ is daily offered up by the priest at the mass.	VII. Protestants believe that Christ offered himself once for all, on the cross; and that the Popish doctrine of the Mass detracts from the sufficiency of Christ's own atonement.

VIII. Papists believe there is a place called Purgatory, in which the souls of men are purged of sins committed in this life.	VIII. Protestants believe that the *blood of Christ alone cleanseth from all sin*, and that Christ died in vain, if the pains of a Purgatory are necessary to our salvation.
IX. The ceremonies of the Church of Rome are many and complex, and sometimes contrary to the scriptural sense of the rite performed, as in the baptismal ceremonies.	IX. The ceremonies of the Protestant Church are few and simple, and conducive only to the decency and order of public worship.

The foregoing "Reasons" and "Differences" are taken from a series of Tracts published by the late pious and learned Bishop of Sarum, whilst he presided over the See of St. David's. The whole volume is highly deserving the close attention of every Protestant in England.

No. VI.

The absolving power of the priest in the Church of England is not *judicial* but *ministerial*. The view taken of it by the Author, at page 215, in reference to the case of leprosy under the Levitical law, accords most fully with the opinion of St. Jerome, as appears by his remark on St. Matthew, xvi. 19. "Istum locum Episcopi et Presbyteri non intelligentes, aliquid sibi de Pharisæorum assumunt supercilio: ut vel damnent innocentes, vel solvere se noxios arbitrentur: cum apud Deum *non sententia sacerdotum*, sed reorum vita quæratur. Legimus in Levitico de leprosis; ubi jubentur, ut ostendant se sacerdotibus; et si lepram habuerint, tunc à sacerdote immundi fiant; non

quo sacerdotes leprosos faciant et immundos, sed quo *habeant notitiam* leprosi, et non leprosi: et possint discernere qui mundus quive immundus sit. *Quomodo ergo ibi leprosum sacerdos mundum vel immundum facit; sic et hic alligat, vel solvit Episcopus et Presbyter; non eos qui insontes sunt vel noxii, sed pro officio suo, cum peccatorum audierit varietates, scit qui ligandus sit, qui solvendus.*"

"The bishops and priests, totally mistaking that passage, (viz. Matt. xvi. 19,) assume to themselves so much of Pharisaical arrogance, as either to condemn the innocent, or to imagine that they can acquit the guilty; whereas with God the inquiry will be not as to the opinion of the priests, but the conduct of the criminals. We read in the Book of Leviticus respecting Lepers; where they are commanded to show themselves to the priests; and if they should have the leprosy, then they should be made clean by the priest; not so that the priests could make them leprous and unclean, but that they might have a clear knowledge of who was leprous, and who not so—and should be able to distinguish between the clean and unclean. In the same manner, therefore, as in that case the priest made the leper clean or unclean, so in this the bishop or priest binds or looses; not indiscriminately those who are innocent or guilty, but as far as his office allows, when he shall have inquired into their severals offences, he judges who is to be bound and who loosed."

No. VII.

"I TOLD you that you were not to write to me or to any other person in that style, and behold, in the Preface to that Epistle directed to me who thus prohibited, you have set this proud appellation, calling me 'Universal Pope or Father,' which I desire you will do no more, for it is a derogating from yourself to bestow on another more than reason requires; I count it on my honour, wherein I know my brethren lose their honour; my honour is the honour of the Universal Church, my honour is that my brethren should enjoy what fully belongs to them—then am I truly honoured, *when the honour which is due to all is denied to none;* for if you call me Universal Pope, you deny that to yourself which you attribute all to me."

B. GREGOR. Ex Regist. l. 7.
Indict. I. C. 30.

No. VIII.

APPENDED to a poem (referred to at page 19) in the ancient Cornish language, entitled "*Mount Calvary*," or the "*Passion of Christ*," and translated into English by John Keigwin towards the end of the 17th century, is the following ancient Cornish version of the Protest addressed by Dinoth in the name of the British Bishops to Augustine, as given at p. 94. It is copied from a MS. in the Bodleian

library, and has been kindly communicated to the writer by the Rev. R. S. Hawker, vicar of Morwenstow, Cornwall, the talented author of "Records of the Western Shore." This copy is evidently a part only of the Protest as given by Sir H. Spelman, perhaps its title, but is valuable as confirming his testimony to a great historical fact. The translation accompanying it is probably from the pen of Keigwin.

"A Protestacõn of the Bĩpps in Briten to Augustine the Monke, the Pope's Legate, in the year 600, p^{t} Dm Chr̃um.

Cornish—Bidispis a Diogoll choi y bos
English—Be it known to all X'an people that wee are

yn un att arall yn uwidd y yum ystengedig yn
in one and other in observance and are helpful to

Eglawis Duis.
the Church of God.

Or, Englished thus:

"Bee it known to all Xĩan people, that we are fellow servants and ministers of one Church of God."

No. IX.

ADDITIONAL NOTICES RESPECTING THE PRESENT STATE OF PERRANZABULOE.

On visiting the ancient church of Perranzabuloe, soon after the first edition was sent to the press, the writer was

grieved to find that the old enemy had been again most actively at work, having accumulated the sand so deeply around the building, as once more to threaten its speedy and entire entombment; added to which, the spoiler's hand has mischievously thrown down or removed the whole of the beautiful doorway, as represented by the vignette in the first page, and has moreover shown so little reverence for this interesting remnant of ancient piety, that the interior of the sanctuary itself has been desecrated by many acts of wanton profanation.

To the reader who may have felt a pleasing interest in the several matters relating to the disentombment of the old church, it will not be less interesting to hear, that within a few yards of its southern side, has been discovered a building, which in all probability was the very "cell" in which the pilgrim saint resided. The walls are of the same thickness and construction as those of the church, and are evidently of the same age. They form but one small apartment, having neither window nor chimney, and but one doorway. It may have been the humble dwelling of the priest attached to the Church. The ground, to a considerable extent around the Church, especially on its southern and western side, is covered with human bones, which the winds, or the hands of the curious, have torn from their narrow cells. The quantity of these human remains is so great, as plainly to show that this spot must have been the cemetery of a dense population, or of a large district; and the mode of interment indicates a very re-

mote period of British history; for the bones are here found placed with much care, in what is called, in the ancient Cornish language, kist-vaen, or a chest of stone. These kist-vaens are composed of several pieces of slate stone, placed on their edges, so as to form a kist or cell, and differ from the cromlech in having no horizontal or covering-stone. The kist-vaens are believed to be the most ancient British sepulchres in England, and have been found in various parts of the country. They are sometimes covered over with stones, when they are called *cairns*, instances of which we have at Lanyon and Molfra, in the parish of Maderne in Cornwall, and in Berkshire, near the track of the ancient ridgeway, in the vicinity of the White Horse Hill; and sometimes, instead of stones, they are covered by a heap or mound of earth, when they are called *barrows*, a singular instance of which is to be seen in what is called the Long Barrow, at Stony Littleton, in Somersetshire.

In the case of Perranzabuloe the kist-vaens are immersed in the sand, which has had the effect of preserving their contents in a singularly perfect manner; for the bones, and especially the teeth, are as entire as when they were first interred—possibly many hundred years before the arrival of Piranus.

Close to the site of the second Church stands erect a most venerable, perforated granite Cross. The Cross is formed, after the rudest mode, by three holes which perforate, and a fourth cut only a little way into the rounded

head of what was commonly by the Cornish denominated "Men Skryfd," or an *inscribed stone;* for it evidently has borne an inscription, but in what character it is now im-

possible to decipher. It measures about thirteen feet in height, four of which are buried in the sand.

This rude memorial of early Christian piety, in all likelihood, is as ancient as the time of Piranus himself, and

may have originally been erected near the first Church, and removed to its present situation, when the second Church was built, about A.D. 1100. Its form would lead us to suppose that it was once a heathen monument, British or Roman, afterwards converted to a Christian purpose.

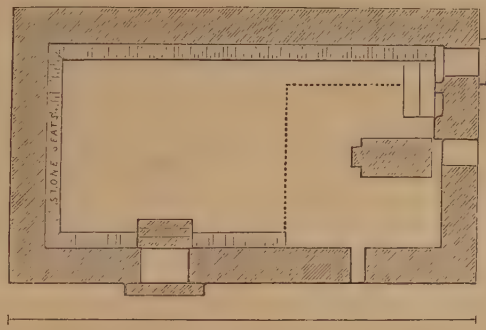
It may further interest the reader of these pages to be informed that, when the sand was first cleared out of and around the foundations of the old Church, the external dimensions were as follows:—

Length, ...	29 feet 6 inches.
Breadth, ...	16½ feet.
Height of Gables, . .	19 feet.
Do. of North and South walls,	13 feet.
Thickness of the Walls, .	2 feet.

The walls are of the rudest build, the materials consisting of granite, porphyry, slate and quartz thrown together without cement of any kind, excepting a coarse clay, and altogether indicate the greatest antiquity. The reader is referred for further particulars to a very interesting little work on the same subject by the Rev. W. Haslam, published eight or nine years after its discovery, who, the better to mark the spot where the altar-tomb stood, placed a solid block of granite in the place where the remains of St. Piran were discovered, with the saint's name deeply cut in the stone. This is now (1868) again deeply buried in the sand, and the author is further informed by the present worthy Vicar of Perranzabuloe, the Rev. J. Perry, that the walls of the old Church are in a most crumbling and

shattered condition, the doorway destroyed, and from the drawings he has kindly sent, the whole building apparently reduced to a shapeless mass of ruins.

As it may assist the reader the better to understand the form of this ancient little Church, a ground plan is herewith annexed, whereby the peculiar position of the



Gables, ...	19 feet.
Walls, ...	2 feet thick.
Dimensions of the Altar-Tomb :—	
Length, ...	5 feet 3 inches.
Breadth, ...	2 feet 3 inches.
Height, ...	4 feet.

The dotted lines mark the position of the chancel rail, which from a groove in the southern wall must have been about six feet high.

altar-tomb is shown, as standing east and west, with square pieces cut from the north and south angles.

It has already been mentioned in the introductory chapter, that under the altar were discovered three skele-

tons, having their feet turned towards the east; but what is very remarkable, the skulls of all three were found deposited between the legs of the female.

In describing the sterility of the surrounding sandhills, the author has represented them as *totally* destitute of verdure; he begs to qualify, in some respects, this statement, as they are here and there covered with a very stunted and coarse herbage, which affords a scanty food for the rabbits which have burrowed in great numbers among the sandhills. The general barrenness, however, of the whole district, is very striking, as will appear from the following list of the only plants which the writer could discover on the Towans or sandhills.

Geranium Maritimum (*Sea Cranesbill*), in abundance.

Hyoscyamus Niger (*Common Henbane*), a solitary plant.

Cynoglossum Officinale (*Great Houndstongue*), in abundance.

Euphorbia Paralios (*Sea Spurge*), a single plant.

Calamagrostis arenaria (*Sea Matweed*).

This last-mentioned plant is the most abundant of all, and proves of essential service in checking the roving disposition of the sand. It possesses the singular property of accommodating its growth to the depth of sand in which it grows, by which means its tough and tortuous roots and stems serve the useful purpose of binding the sandhills together. The Dutch have long profited by their knowledge of this property, and therefore encourage the

growth of it with great success on their sea walls, and the banks of their canals. According to Woodward, it is applied to the same purpose on the flat coast of Norfolk, where as soon as it takes root a sandhill gathers around it.

The inhabitants of Newborough, in Anglesea, maintain themselves chiefly by manufacturing it into mats and ropes, to which use it is also applied by the people of Perranzabuloe, who would do well were they more generally to attend to its cultivation, as the most effectual barrier yet known against the further "spoiling and marring of their lands," by the drifting sand.

So highly was the Calamagrostis prized on this very account, as long ago as the reign of Queen Elizabeth, that her Majesty, under very severe penalties, prohibited its extirpation; and by the stat. 15 Geo. II. c. 33, the like prohibition was extended to the cutting of it on the sand-hills, on the north-western coasts of England.

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Perranzabuloe, the lost Church found

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